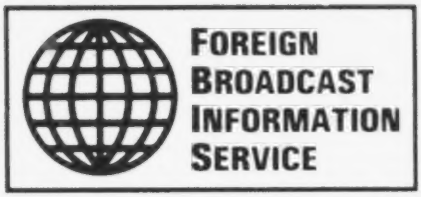

Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Shaposhnikov Comments on Victory Day

LD0705170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1625 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS— Commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth Allied Armed Forces Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov called on compatriots not to overshadow the Victory Day "with various political actions" in deference to war victims.

As some opposition parties plan to organize rallies on Red Square, the marshal told ITAR-TASS today "a resolution of the Moscow mayor's office must be strictly observed, especially by the military," that is members of the officers' union.

Speaking of problems of the Russian and Commonwealth Armed Forces, Shaposhnikov expressed concern over the Baltic states' striving to involve the international community in solution to the issue on Russian troops withdrawal from their territory. In the marshal's opinion, this issue can be settled only on a unilateral basis, same as it was with the Russian troops withdrawal from Germany.

Celebrations Noted

LD0905203293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2019 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 10 TASS—On May 9, Commonwealth countries have marked the most remarkable and at the same time the most sorrowful day. It is remarkable because thanks to the will, courage and solidarity of the people of the multinational country the world was saved from the brown plague of fascism. It is a sad day because victory in World War II was won at a great price. Many of our compatriots died the death of a hero on battle fields, in fascist prisons and concentration camps, hospitals, and many people died of hunger and cold.

Belarusian veterans of war placed flowers to the monument to Lenin on the Square of Independence in Minsk. Garlands of flowers from Belarusian leaders were brought to a memorial to soldiers and guerrillas on the Victory Square and on the Hill of Glory on the Moscow highway. The commemoration ceremony was attended by Chairman of the Belarusian Parliament Stanislav Shushkevich, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Vyacheslav Kebich, and other Belarusian leaders. Flowers and wreaths were laid on this day to a memorial "Minsk - a hero city" and to a memorial complex in Hatyn and hundreds of other Belarusian villages. Celebrations were held today in a fortress in Brest and all Belarusian towns and villages.

Early in the morning, Heroes of the Soviet Union and winners of the Order of Glory from all over Ukraine gathered in Krescshatic in Kiev. Carrying banners of military units which distinguished themselves while liberating Ukraine from fascists, war veterans marched along the central street of the hero-city. Crowds of people gathers on the Square of Glory, including participants in the March of Heroes, thousands of war veterans, townsfolk and guests of the city.

Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Chairman of the Ukrainian Parliament Ivan Pluyshch, Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma and other Ukrainian leaders arrived to pay homage to those who had given their lives for freedom and independence of their homeland.

Festivities devoted to the Victory Day took place in Kazakhstan. President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Parliament Chairman Serkiboltsin Abdildin, Prime Minister Sergey Tereshenko and other leaders of the republic came to eternal flame burning at the foundation of a memorial of glory in the park of 28 Heroes of Panfilov National Guards. Nazarbayev congratulated veterans of war on the victory day, saying that by joint efforts by the Kazakh multinational people the difficulties of a transitional period would be overcome and the sovereign republic would turn into a prosperous state.

A ceremony of celebrating the Victory Day was held near the grave of the Unknown Soldier of a memorial to heroes of war in Tbilisi, attended by Eduard Shevardnadze and other Georgian leaders.

Celebrations of the Victory Day have been resumed in Georgia two years after they were cancelled by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who declared the Great Patriotic War to be alien to Georgia, although about 700,000 Georgian citizens had taken part in the war and more than half of them were killed.

Antimonopoly Conference Opens in Moscow

MK0805090093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 May 93 p 3

[Marat Salimov report: "Antimonopoly Administrations Confer. All Agree To Fight State Monopoly"]

[Excerpts] **The former USSR republics are trying to evolve a single strategy to curb unfair competition. This issue keynoted the discussions at the first conference of heads of antimonopoly committees of the CIS countries, the Baltic states, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. The conference opened yesterday in Moscow. Observers think, once heads of antimonopoly administrations reach understanding, that commercial organizations and consumers will at long last have hopes for a gradual reduction of price pressure from state-run producers and brokers.**

That the problem of curbing monopoly activities in the economic area of the ex-USSR is important is borne out by the fact that the first conference of heads of antimonopoly bodies was attended by committee chairmen not only from the CIS, but also from the new nonaligned independent states, with the exception of Lithuania. The formal occasion for holding this meeting was provided by an agreement on coordinated actions of the CIS

countries in the field of antimonopoly policy signed in Moscow during the Commonwealth summit in March 1993. [passage omitted]

Opening the conference, Leonid Bochin, chairman of the Russian State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy, said that unfair competition and the setting of arbitrary prices by the state monopoly organizations continue at present not only on the home markets of the newly independent states, but also over the entire economic area of the former USSR. This conclusion by the head of the Russian Antimonopoly Committee was backed by official statistics compiled by national economic administrations. In particular, in Ukraine in 1992, where the annual rate of inflation topped 2,000 percent, cost efficiency of state-run enterprises went up 30 percent. [passage omitted]

One of the real reasons for holding the conference was the fear that under the guise of holding talks on punitive measures (the idea of which was put forward by Arkadiy Volskiy and found support in the government of Russia) manufacturers of industrial products of the former USSR would seek to conclude agreements on setting monopoly prices on a wide range of commodities. KOMMERSANT-DAILY will report on the results of the conference tomorrow.

Former Republics To Crack Down

MK0805135093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 May 93 p 9

[Marat Salimov report published in "Conference of Antitrust Departments" column: "Anti-Monopolists of the Former USSR Call for Integration"]

[Text] Strange as it may seem, the activity of the leaders of antimonopoly departments of the former USSR republics, unlike the activity of the heads of national governments, has taken on a pronounced integrating character. Yesterday a conference of leaders of antimonopoly committees of the CIS countries, the Baltic states, Azerbaijan, and Georgia that ended in Moscow, stated the need to pursue a coordinated antimonopoly policy on the basis of information exchanges and mutual consultations. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts regard this meeting as the first step along the road to developing integration-oriented interstate links in the sphere of fighting unfair competition practices.

The heads of former USSR republics' antimonopoly committees, following a two-day discussion of problems involved in creating an antimonopoly legal-regulatory foundation, signed a final protocol providing the underpinnings for the development of integration in this field. Addressing a press conference following the conference, Leonid Bochin, chairman of the Russian State Antimonopoly Committee, stressed that at present antimonopoly committees "have been entrusted with the historic mission of making the economic reforms irreversible and creating a basis for the development of competition on the commodity and financial markets of the newly independent states."

Special attention on the last day of the conference was given to the problem of coordinating the efforts of antimonopoly committees in limiting unfair competition and actions of state monopolies at the interrepublican level. This in particular refers to large state producers that have, by virtue of labor divisions that were practiced in the Soviet Union, monopolized particular links in the overall chain of cooperative relations. In this connection, at the next meeting that is due to take place in October 1993 in Almaty, it was decided to hold consultations at the level of representatives and experts of antimonopoly committees to work out recommendations on adopting specific measures with the aim of curbing rampant price rises. At the same time, observers point out that, strange as it might seem, the leaders of the antimonopoly departments not only give a positive assessment to the ongoing process of the creation of transnational structures in the economic space of the former USSR, but they do not see it as posing any potential threat to the formation of market relations based of free competition. KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe that this is due to the complicated situation in which the newly independent states' economies have found themselves after the collapse of the existing economic links. It is important to bear in mind that such transnational structures are being created in the sphere of extraction and processing of raw materials, mainly Russian raw materials, which are in extremely great demand in the former USSR republics. In this connection the antimonopoly committees decided to postpone consideration of the nature and extent of the transnational companies' impact on the economies of the newly independent states until practical results of the activity of the new structures have been produced.

With regard to the interaction between the antimonopoly bodies and committees on managing state property, the conference participants were unanimous: Privatization should proceed under constant oversight on their part, and an acceptable form of that oversight would be the conclusion of "intercommittee agreements" (between antimonopoly committees and state property management committees) on privatization forms and time frames. On the whole, as a result of the discussion of problems of overseeing the activity of monopolies in the economic space of the former USSR, the conference participants decided gradually to harmonize their national legislative-regulatory foundations by introducing civilized forms and methods of monitoring and curbing instances of unfair competition.

Soviet Space Footage Shows Rocket Explosion

OW0905100193 Tokyo KYODO in English 0910 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Tokyo, May 9 KYODO—Soviet archive film shows a rocket explosion on the launch pad where Yuriy Gagarin began man's first trip into space killed at least 91 people six months before his epic journey.

The film footage, viewed Sunday by KYODO NEWS SERVICE, shows an explosion 30 minutes prior to the scheduled launching of a new military rocket October 24, 1960, at the Baykonur space center at Leninsk in what is now Kazakhstan.

The footage, from the Russian company Videocosmos which collates arhival material on the Soviet and Russian space industry, shows the rocket exploding on the launch pad and disintegrating in flames while a high-ranking military observer and other workers are enveloped in the flames.

A camera installed at the site filmed workmen fleeing from the all of flame which enveloped the launch site and rescue teams who stood by helpless because of the scorching heat from the fire.

The footage does not show how the fire began, but other reports attributed it to a fuel leak.

The following year, on April 12, 1961, Gagarin's Vostok 1 spacecraft was launched from the site.

Other footage shows how spaceman Aleksey Leonov almost lost his life in the first walk in space in March 1965.

The footage shows how Leonov suffered damage to his space suit during his space walk and was temporarily unable to return to the Voshkod 2 spacecraft, which was orbiting 180 kilometers above the earth. The Soviet Union only showed footage of the successful conclusion of the space walk at the time.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 8 May

LD0805053793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0514 GMT 8 May 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 7 [date as received]—The Moscow press highlights today the forthcoming 48th anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War.

About the whole of today's issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA deals with those who saved our country during the war times. One of the articles published by the newspaper is entitled "If We Love Our Motherland, Let Us Save Its Honour, Help It Revive and Achieve Eminence". It says that this year's anniversary of the victory "has the undisputable advantage over the previous ones: it will be held with the participation of millions of war and labour veterans". It is they, those who worked for the victory, should be honoured and taken care of. We should learn from them how one should love and defend his motherland.

TRUD carries an article by Viktor Gobarev, master of sciences (history), which also deals with the forthcoming anniversary. It says that "if we do not revive our country, we shall betray the memory of many generations of Russians who believed Russia would be free and prosperous some day."

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA carries an interview with Dr. Klaus Blech, German ambassador to Russia. "If we want the future to be better than the past, we should look for it not in confrontation, but only in respectful coexistence with each other which eventually makes friendship possible," he said.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA writes that President Yeltsin signed a decree on conferring the medal "for gallantry" on 784 active participants in the second world war who were wounded in action, but were not awarded any decorations. The newspaper reports the reception for war veterans from various Russian cities, held at the premises of the Russian parliament on the occasion of the victory day. They were addressed by Chairman of parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, who stressed in his speech that the future of the country depends a great deal on the war veterans today.

PRAVDA frontpages a large photo of Soviet marshals, generals and admirals—heroes of the second world war.

Many newspapers set forth Yeltsin's TV address on the official results of the April 25 referendum, and ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carries its full text. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA uses the president's words that "it is only through the reform that Russia can be revived" as the headline of the article which sets forth his speech.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries the full text of the draft constitution prepared by the Russian constitutional commission and submitted for the consideration of the Fifth Congress of People's Deputies by Chairman of the Constitutional Commission Boris Yeltsin on November 2, 1991. The main provisions of the draft constitution, which includes the amendments of the president, were approved by the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies on April 18, 1992. It is pointed out that the draft constitution includes the amendments, suggested by the working group of the constitutional commission, which take into consideration the proposals of those who have the right to legislative initiative.

Canada's Mulroney Arrives for Summit 7 May

LD0705131393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1254 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—Summit talks between Russia and Canada began in the Kremlin on Friday afternoon [7 May]. The talks are expected to focus on cooperation between Russia and Canada, including in the trade and economic fields.

The leaders of the two countries are due to discuss the package of measures aimed at assisting reforms in Russia, which was announced by the Canadian prime minister in Vancouver in early April.

As concerns international issues, the parties will compare notes on the Yugoslav crisis and nuclear nonproliferation.

On Thursday, after the welcoming ceremony in the Kremlin for the Canadian prime minister, who arrived in Moscow on a three-day visit, Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his guest went to the Russian president's countryside residence for one-to-one talks.

Signs Agreements With Yeltsin

LD0805135793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1115 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Talalayev and Sergey Ryabikin]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—A number of Russo-Canadian documents were signed in the Kremlin on Saturday [8 May].

The agreement on the economic cooperation between the two countries were signed by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

An agreement on Russia's and Canada's cooperation in the field of environmental protection and a memorandum on relations between the Interior Ministry of Russia and the Royal Mounted Police of Canada were also signed.

Meets With Chernomyrdin

LD0805135993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1118 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and his Canadian counterpart Brian Mulroney held talks today. The formation and development of market-based relations in Russia, as well as Russian-Canadian economic cooperation were at the centre of their attention, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told journalists after the talks that lasted for about an hour.

"The sides had a very interesting exchange of views not only about specific details of Russian-Canadian relations, but also about economic development models," the foreign minister said. According to Kozyrev, Chernomyrdin said during the talks that the market-oriented economy in Russia was functioning today in somewhat specific conditions. It was pointed out that the Russian leadership was firmly committed to the implementation of the radical market- oriented reform.

Kozyrev said that the Russian and Canadian sides had discussed problems dealing with the granting of credits by Canada, as well as assistance in the implementation of the Russian reform.

Comments on Cooperation Talks

LD0805124893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1221 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Ryabinkin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—"The policy pursued by Brian Mulroney is a policy of practical solidarity with the Russian reform," President Yeltsin said at the press conference he held in the Kremlin today jointly with the Canadian prime minister. The topic of the press conference was the results of Brian Mulroney's visit to Russia. "This is a policy of partnership based on common democratic ideals, the closeness of national interests and similar understanding of the future," he continued.

During the visit we made one more step in developing cooperation and deepening mutual understanding. This refers both to the economic goals, which are vital for our nations, and to acute international problems, Yeltsin said. Touching upon the Russian- Canadian documents signed today, Yeltsin mentioned, in the first place, "the innovatory treaty on accord and cooperation." "We stated together with Prime Minister Mulroney that despite many unresolved problems, a good legal and practical basis has been created for a dynamic development of Russian-Canadian cooperation. We agreed to work hard and to avoid failures and stoppages," he said.

"On the whole, the official visit of the Canadian prime minister was strenuous and useful. We resolved many practical problems, and not so much summed up the results as coordinated plans for the future. Both Russia and Canada are optimistic about the future," the Russian president stressed.

In the opinion of the Canadian prime minister, the visit was extremely useful, and it would promote the interests of both Russia and Canada. He said Canada would do all it can for removing the legislative acts left after the cold war times, which are hampering the development of Russia's foreign trade.

In addition, Canada intends to uphold Russia's interests within the framework of a dialogue of the seven leading Western countries. According to Mulroney, there is no reason to develop bilateral programmes of assistance to Russia and after that hamper its access to world markets only because of trade restrictions. He believes it is free trade which can eventually bring about the success of President Yeltsin's reform in Russia.

Further Yeltsin Comments

LD0805140493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] As we have already announced, there has been a news conference on the results of the Russian-Canadian summit, with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Boris Yeltsin. Our special correspondent Viktor Levin reports:

[Levin] At the news conference, both leaders commended the talks that had taken place and spoke of their concrete results. A great deal of attention was paid to the situation in Bosnia, but in this bulletin I would like to acquaint you, esteemed listeners, with what the Russian president had to say in connection with our great festival, Victory Day. In answer to my question—what would you, Boris Nikolayevich, like to wish the people of Russia on the eve of the festival?—he said:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Peace in every area, in every courtyard, in every square, in every street, in every family, and as far as the state is concerned. [end recording]

[Levin] The president was later asked how he feels about tomorrow. Here is Boris Nikolayevich's answer:

[Begin Yeltsin recording] Above all, I am glad for the people that triumphed in such a war, a terrible war, a war against fascism. Of course, other countries helped, but the greatest burden lay on Russia. So joy is the first feeling for the victory.

The second feeling is a feeling of commiseration and sympathy for those families in which someone did not return from the front. It is a tribute of respect to those who died but did not let go of the victory banner.

The third feeling is one of respect for those veterans who will be celebrating Victory Day. They too have complicated feelings. They remember the comrades who died. They remember joyful Victory Days. They remember Berlin. They remember, they will remember a very great deal, so this is a special festival. Any other festivals can be changed, altered, or replaced, but this festival is everlasting. That is the main thing.

I will not only be laying flowers at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; I will also be at Poklonnaya Gora. I am sure that the festival tomorrow will pass peacefully. [end recording]

[Levin] In one of the next bulletins I will acquaint you with other comments made by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney.

Yeltsin Comments on Referendum

LD0805141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1413 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ryabikin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—The recent referendum made the Russian president the only legitimate branch of authority in the country which allows him to bypass the Congress of People's Deputies and adopt a new constitution, according to Boris Yeltsin.

"Out of all branches of authority only the president possesses legitimacy at present", he said at a joint press conference with Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney on Saturday [8 May]. "The people at the referendum voted to give their power to the president", he added.

The parliament and the congress were elected when Russia was within the former Soviet Union and was called a Soviet socialist republic.

For this reason the president has the right to bypass the Congress of People's Deputies and convene either the Council of the Federation or a constitutional assembly to adopt a new constitution, according to Yeltsin.

The president is not going to dissolve the parliament or the congress. "After the constitution is adopted it will become clear that the basic law leaves no room for the congress and new parliamentary elections are to be held", Yeltsin said.

As regards the new constitution, "we act and will act calmly, but resolutely in order to adopt the draft proposed by the president", he added.

Yeltsin wants the draft to be agreed with all Russian republics by June. "I would like that at least in June all subjects of the federation sign an agreed draft of the new constitution", he said.

Yeltsin recalled that the previous draft of the constitution was rejected by the congress which refused to submit it to a referendum. "Thus the congress did not trust the people with adopting a new constitution. That is why I proposed a new variant accumulating in it all positive from other drafts, including that of academician (Andrey) Sakharov", the noted Russian human rights champion, Yeltsin said.

Yeltsin's rival Ruslan Khasbulatov convened a meeting of the Constitutional Commission on Friday which said that the presidential version of the basic law "considerable limits human rights and freedoms".

However, Yeltsin, who is chairman of the Constitutional Commission, said the meeting was unlawful because

without his permission the commission can hold no session and adopt no decisions.

The president denied rumours that former acting Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar may return to the government "also because Gaydar does not want it".

Yeltsin expressed hope that, in contrast to May Day manifestations which resulted in mass disorders and clashes with police, the celebrations of the Victory Day on May 9 will pass without incidents. He wished peace to russians also "on each square, each street and in every family and in the state as a whole".

Bosnian Security Discussed

LD0805144693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1442 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Ryabikin and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—The Russian and Canadian leaders hope that Bosnian Serbs may still change their position towards the Vance-Owen plan and rule out any "spontaneous" action in case the plan is voted down at a referendum in Bosnia.

"Russia and Canada view the situation in Bosnia as critical. We are dissatisfied with the decision of the Bosnian Serb parliament, but believe the possibility of a political settlement according to the Vance-Owen plan remains", Boris Yeltsin said at a joint press conference with Brian Mulroney on Saturday.

"We still must go through the referendum in Bosnia", he said and expressed hope that "the Bosnian Serbs will adopt the Vance-Owen plan and, what is more important, will implement it".

However, in case the plan is voted down at the referendum this would not mean a sudden military intervention in Bosnia. "Some kind of spontaneous decision is not possible". "The Bosnian Serbs should know that this would not mean a fullstop and that the UN Security Council will discuss some other package of measures", Yeltsin said.

He expressed concern that a military intervention may threaten Russian, Canadian and other peace-keepers in former Yugoslavia. Yeltsin said he and Mulroney "are very much concerned that in case of tough measures in Bosnia Canadian, Russian and other servicemen there will face a difficult situation".

"I stress it again—any spontaneous measures bypassing the Security Council are ruled out", the Russian president stressed.

Mulroney said Canada is against any actions which would threaten security of peace-keepers in Bosnia. Although the Bosnian Serb parliament turned down the Vance-Owen plan Russia and Canada hope the position will be revised, according to him.

If it does not change after the referendum then a new situation will emerge. It will be necessary to analyse it before Canada agrees to any other actions, Mulroney stressed.

Yeltsin Remarks at News Conference

LD0805200693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1800 GMT 8 May 93

[Report by correspondent Vitaliy Buzuyev on joint news conference of President Boris Yeltsin and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in Moscow on 8 May; Yeltsin remarks recorded]

[Text] Today Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney left Moscow. Before his departure, Mulroney and Russia's President Boris Yeltsin held a joint news conference on the results of the Canadian leader's visit to our country. Here is Vitaliy Buzuyev with the details.

[Buzuyev] Is it worth it to help Russia at all? This question has often been raised in the West. As Boris Yeltsin noted:

[Yeltsin] There have been many doubters, but Brian Mulroney has never been one of them.

[Buzuyev] The main result of the Canadian leader's visit to Russia is the signing of a fundamental economic agreement. In Boris Yeltsin's words:

[Yeltsin] Its main purport is to help develop ties between Russian and Canadian business. It envisages a mechanism for the implementation of the agreement, namely an intergovernment economic commission. There are huge reserves for our cooperation, the only thing is to rely more boldly on the spirit of enterprise, which exists both here and in Canada. We have agreed to conclude another agreement shortly, on the mutual protection of capital investments, and on renouncing the practice of imposing double taxes, on profits and on capital. The way for investments will be open.

[Buzuyev] Boris Yeltsin and Brian Mulroney also discussed the situation in the former Yugoslavia. How realistic is the possibility of the international community's military intervention in the Bosnian conflict? According to Boris Yeltsin:

[Yeltsin] There cannot be some kind of spontaneous decision. We still have to wait for the referendum in Bosnia, and after the referendum—which might also determine something with regard to the Vance-Owen plan—we ought to discuss the situation at the Security Council, with the participation of foreign ministers. There we ought to decide what measures can be taken.

[Buzuyev] The issue of a new constitution was also raised at the news conference. Boris Yeltsin stated:

[Yeltsin] It is not the question of someone intending to dissolve someone else. What is needed is for a constitution to be adopted, either by a constituent assembly or a

constitutional assembly. After the adoption of the constitution it will become clear that there is no place for a Congress in this constitution. After this, new parliamentary elections will have to be held.

Mulroney Ends Visit, Leaves Moscow

LD0805170393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1459 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney completed his official visit to Russia and left Moscow on Saturday [8 May].

He was seen off by Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Kozyrev Favors Safe Havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina

AU0705162593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev replied to Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle concerning the Slovene initiative for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Russian minister supported the formation of safe havens in Bosnia-Herzegovina and expressed the readiness of the Russian Federation for bilateral and multilateral cooperation in a detailed determination of these regions in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Kozyrev also proposed close cooperation between Slovene and Russian diplomats to find a solution to the Yugoslav crisis and added that Moscow highly values the Slovene assessment of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Russian minister also spoke in favor of versatile cooperation between Russia and Slovenia.

Hopeful for Bosnian Serb Referendum

MK0705110693 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 May 93 p 10

[Vera Krasnova report: "Russia's Policy in Balkans. Andrey Kozyrev Hopes for Referendum"]

[Text] The Bosnian Serb parliament yesterday rejected the Vance-Owen plan. Although the parliament decided that the people must have the final say on this question in a referendum set for 15 and 16 May, the refusal to ratify the plan could sharply exacerbate the situation in the next few days. Despite the Russian side's restrained optimism regarding the referendum's results (the same optimism was previously expressed regarding the parliament's expected decision), the chances that Moscow will again manage to postpone the use of force against the Bosnian Serbs look negligible.

During a stormy parliamentary session that lasted over 24 hours, a compromise version of a solution was suggested to the deputies opposed to the Vance-Owen plan. The measures put forward as conditions were, on the one hand, reminiscent of the accords reached in Athens and supported by Moscow—an immediate ceasefire and deployment of UN military observers along the lines of the conflict, and the correction of the Vance-Owen map with the aim of ensuring security for the movement of Serbs from neighboring provinces. On the other hand, the "parliament's conditions" included demands to lift UN sanctions against Yugoslavia, to exchange a number of territories with Croats, and to give Serbs in Croatian and Muslim provinces (where they are in the majority) the right to decide by referendum whether to become part of neighboring Serb provinces. A demand was also made that up to 50 percent of international peacekeeping forces be made up of representatives of Orthodox nations. However, despite appeals to the deputies from the presidents of Yugoslavia, Serbia, Montenegro, and from Greek Prime Minister Konstantinos Mitsotakis, in the end most deputies voted against any compromise conditions and to hold a referendum on 15 and 16 May.

The drama of the situation lies in the fact that, as parliament chairman Momcilo Krasinic put it, "Bosnia might not survive until the referendum" because of the threat of "foreign intervention." This threat is real as never before, and options for actions involving force against the Serbs continue to be clarified during U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher's ongoing European tour.

In this situation the parliament's rejection of the Vance-Owen plan has deprived Moscow of the last argument in favor of a "nonviolent" solution to the conflict. Andrey Kozyrev, expressing at yesterday's Russian Foreign Ministry collegium the weak hope that the referendum "will correct" the parliament's decision, has not ruled out the possibility of "terrible bloodshed" in the region.

Churkin Interviewed on Hopes To Save Vance-Owen Plan

LD0705191693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 May 93

[By correspondent Vladimir Solovyev; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Diplomats are taking the final steps to stop the creep toward disaster before any tragic decisions are adopted. Lord Owen and the Norwegian envoy Stoltenberg, who has replaced Cyrus Vance, are arriving in Belgrade today. Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special envoy, is holding a series of meetings in Belgrade, which is now in its second day.

[Begin Churkin recording] The Bosnian Serbs remain somewhat concerned over those aspects of the Vance-Owen plan which are directly linked with the safety and the normal life of Serbs remaining outside the borders of the Serbian provinces in Bosnia. I believe that these concerns can be very seriously examined and satisfied, in order that wherever Serbs are living in Bosnia, they will have no doubt that they will be able to live with dignity and in conditions of safety. [end recording]

[Announcer] Observers draw special attention to the possibility that a Russian armed formation could take part in the forthcoming UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia. We are talking specifically about peacekeeping, Vitaliy Churkin emphasized in connection with this, and not about taking part in intervention of any kind. [Video shows officials arriving in Belgrade, Churkin being interviewed.]

Grachev Holds Talks on Bosnia With U.S. Official

LD0805125093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1238 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—Ways to settle the crisis in former Yugoslavia after the Bosnian Serbs turned down the Vance-Owen plan were in the focus of a meeting of Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and a special envoy of the US State Department, Strobe Talbot on Saturday [8 May].

The meeting was attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Mamedov and acting US Charge d'Affaires in Russia James Collins, TASS learned from Elena Agapova, spokeswoman of the defence minister. She gave no further details.

'More Active Stance' Wanted on Yugoslavia

PM0705141993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 93 First Edition p 7

["Viewpoint" article by Deputy Chief Editor Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "Russia-Yugoslavia: Whose Interests Does Kozyrev's Policy Reflect?"]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev: Yeltsin's victory in the referendum should dispel any doubts that Russia will side with the Serbs (RL 27 April).

FRG Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel: The Serbs bear the main responsibility for the war in the former Yugoslavia. Russia must be more energetic in backing the West's policy on Yugoslavia. If Russia expects the West's aid during its period of domestic political change, it must show solidarity with Europe, which has found itself in a difficult situation. (Deutsche Welle).

U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher: The United States welcomes Russian President Yeltsin's support for the UN sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The Russian president believes that the Serbs have isolated themselves from the rest of the world (USIA).

New UN Security Council sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro came into force 27 April since Belgrade, in the opinion of the Clinton administration, has not put sufficient pressure on the Bosnian Serbs to adopt the Vance-Owen plan to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina into 10 semiautonomous provinces.

Since then all accounts belonging to Serbian and Montenegrin firms abroad have been frozen; all Yugoslav means of transport outside the republic are liable to be confiscated; all foreign ships are banned from entering Serbian and Montenegrin territorial waters; and authorization has been given for confiscated Yugoslav assets and funds to be sold and to thus reimburse the losses sustained by those entities which resorted to the act of confiscation, which is tantamount to daylight robbery. Thus, as of 28 April Serbia and Montenegro have been completely isolated from the outside world.

In recent history only Hitler's Germany and Iraq have been subjected to such rigid isolation.

Russia, effectively, approved these UN Security Council measures by abstaining from the vote and only trying to get one condition for itself: that these sanctions should start to be implemented after the 25 April referendum.

What is puzzling here is the one-sided, virtually anti-Serb stance espoused by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

It is hard to believe that Moscow's Smolensk Square [Russian Foreign Ministry] was ignorant of something that has long been said in the West. People there are saying that all that has been said about human rights violations and ethnic cleansing on the part of the Serbs alone is nothing more than rhetoric designed to hide the true state of affairs.

Only 27 April Muslim-controlled Sarajevo Radio noted that the UN Security Council delegation visiting Zagreb had told Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that troop units redeployed to Bosnia from Croatia had "perpetrated unprecedentedly brutal murders in Bosnia, while, moreover, wearing fascist emblems on their uniforms" and that Croatian troops had been practicing ethnic cleansing and reprisals against Muslims for eight months now.

Paris' LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS pointed out quite frankly that same day that the "increasingly likely Western intervention in Bosnia signifies the Americans' desire not so much to put an end to 'ethnic cleansing' (which has not particularly worried Western governments) as to show that the Balkans are henceforth a zone of exclusive NATO influence."

The same newspaper a day earlier wrote that the hullabaloo in the U.S. and German press over the Vance-Owen plan was impelling the international community "down the wrong path," since not only the Serbs but equally the Muslims and Croats would be unwilling to sign it because it does not suit any side.

In short, this extremely complicated, colonialist plan (the British at one time divided up Africa and Hindustan in roughly the same way) will scarcely be implemented. But at this stage it is not the worst of the evils, since it does open the way to peace talks. That is why Russia should of course support it now. If only to prevent U.S. bombing raids on Serbian positions.

The plan, however, is not the issue. The issue is why the West has overtly sided with the Croats in what is largely a domestic Yugoslav conflict.

In actual fact Clinton is bound to know that the clashes between Serbs and Croats go back not to 1991 when Croatia left Yugoslavia, but far further in time.

In effect on Yugoslav territory today we are observing the final stage in establishing a balance of relations between Croatia and Serbia. This can even be called the final phase in World War II in the Balkans.

Whereas Germany, Italy, Hungary, and in part Bulgaria occupied the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia during the war 6-18 April 1941, a fascist Independent State of Croatia was set up in Zagreb 10 April with the help of Italian fascists and German Nazis taking in the best territories of Yugoslavia. This state immediately began genocide against the Serbs. During the war years (according to estimates made by international sources) roughly 1 million Serbs were annihilated in the Jasenovac concentration camp alone, near Zagreb.

After the war Croatia was not punished for these crimes against humanity.

Perhaps that was why when Croatia broke with Belgrade in 1992 the Serbs on its territory remembered something that they had never forgotten? Especially since the incumbent Croatian president has never particularly hidden his nationalist aspirations.

Thus, 21 April during the opening ceremony of the memorial museum to the victims of Nazism at Arlington Cemetery (United States), to which F. Tudjman among others was invited, B. Clinton described him as the head of the eminent state of Croatia. While the well-known fighter against Nazism, Elie Wiesel, described the invitation to F. Tudjman, who cleaves to Nazi, near-fascist views, as a disgrace to the United States.

It is now becoming clear who in Europe is taking the lead in backing Croatia and putting pressure on Serbia. The 12 EC foreign ministers met in the Danish town of Middelfart 25 April to discuss the Yugoslav crisis. Germany found itself isolated in demanding that military pressure be put on Serbia and diplomatic relations even broken off with Belgrade.

The uncompromisingly tough stance toward the Serbs espoused by Clinton personally, which in my view stems from his inexperience in international affairs, is also staggering.

It is not, however, only a matter of the toughness of the U.S. and German stance toward the Serbs. In my view, there are changes in the mind-set of the establishment in Western developed countries which should inspire serious misgivings in international public opinion.

Addressing the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London at the end of April, FRG Defense Minister Volker Ruehe said: "During the Cold War noninterference was a lofty political principle. Now there is increasing international consensus that the community of states can no longer view with tolerance the suppression of ethnic minorities and human rights violations **within any state.** Both the United Nations and the CSCE must formulate appropriate political instruments **in order to influence the domestic political behavior** of individual member countries in keeping with the norms of a rule-of-law state" (my stress—Vl. K).

Today they are trying to apply this principle to the Serbs. But tomorrow they may try to apply it to Russia, say. What then?

I think that Moscow should extricate its foreign policy from the Yugoslav impasse in which it finds itself—admittedly, under pressure from the West.

After all, if NATO aircraft start carrying out bombing raids on Serb positions in Bosnia tomorrow, Belgrade will be unable to watch in silence as its compatriots are annihilated. If B. Clinton's idea of lifting the embargo on arms shipments to the Muslims and then, evidently, to the Croats is put into practice—an idea which has, judging from his statements, become an obsession with him—the hostilities will without any shadow of a doubt move from Bosnia straight onto Serbian and Croatian territory. In that case will Russia be able to stay impartial and hostile to the Serbs? In that case will not defensive Russian weapons (antiaircraft defense systems and so on) flood into Serbia?

Never before has Russia's young statehood been subjected to such a test of its stability in the foreign policy arena as in 1992-1993. Primarily in connection with its attitude to Serbia.

To be fair, I must admit that Russian diplomacy and the young Russian state have ended up in this trap not entirely of their own choosing. The policy of almost totally subordinating Moscow's foreign policy to tough Western pressure is merely an extension of the Gorbachev-Shevardnadze policy on Iraq. But it is this continuity that is worrying some public opinion in our country most of all: This must not become a tradition.

The policy of concessions seems to be being continued in the case of Serbia. Russia is losing once and for all not only its interests, but also its identity in the international arena. However, here is precisely the rare occasion when Russia should not follow the opinions espoused by the Western community, but the West should heed Russia's autonomous opinion.

Even the West acknowledges that.

There is, however, a problem which must be resolved without fail before we can take a more active stance in the Yugoslav conflict. The Russian president, regardless of what he feels and thinks deep down, is sticking to Kozyrev's policy, and as long as he sticks to that policy, Russia will evidently not have effective diplomacy on the Yugoslav conflict.

Diplomat Says Bosnia Poll 'Last Chance'

PM0705153893 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 May 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Moscow Is Trying To Postpone Military Intervention in Bosnia"]

[Text] The decision of the Bosnian Serbs' "parliament" to reject the Vance-Owen plan was a bitter disappointment to Russian diplomacy. The blow was all the more painful in that Moscow had, to all appearances, overestimated the significance of the signature which Radovan Karadzic, leader of the self-styled "Serbian republic," had appended to the peace plan a few days earlier.

The euphoria that gripped Russian politicians was expressed by President Yeltsin, who, meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Wednesday, stated: The probability of the Bosnian Serbs' Assembly rejecting the Vance-Owen plan is "virtually nil."

All the same, the improbable happened. Moscow's reaction was not long in coming. Boris Yeltsin made a special statement calling on the inhabitants of Serbian regions of Bosnia to rectify their politicians' mistake and vote for the peace plan in the referendum scheduled for 15-16 May. Andrey Kozyrev, in a CNN interview, called the Serbian deputies' decision irresponsible.

Unlike the majority of Western states, Russia pins great hopes on the referendum. "This may be the last chance to avert international military intervention," a diplomat belonging to Kozyrev's close entourage stated. "The inhabitants of the Serb-controlled regions of Bosnia are tired of war. It is not impossible that they will support the Vance-Owen plan, particularly if Karadzic and the Belgrade leadership call on them to do so."

The West does not share Moscow's optimism. Warren Christopher assessed the referendum as unlawful, stating that the Serbs alone cannot determine Bosnia's fate. Even Momir Bulatovic, president of Montenegro (the Yugoslav republic which until recently had unreservedly supported the Serbs), was skeptical about the plebiscite, calling it "absolutely pointless."

Critics of the referendum adduce the following arguments:

—one-third of Bosnian Serbs have left the republic and will be unable to participate in the poll;

—a significant proportion of Bosnian Serbs live in Sarajevo and other cities under the control of the Muslims and Croats, and consequently the referendum will take place without them;

—what about the Croats and Muslims who happen to be in Serbian-occupied territory? If they are deprived of the right to vote (and that is clearly the way things are going), the world will see this as yet another manifestation of ethnic discrimination;

—and last, there is no guarantee that tens of thousands of "volunteers" from Yugoslavia who are fighting on the side of the Bosnian Serbs will not take part in the voting.

However, Russian diplomats prefer to ignore the question of the referendum's legitimacy. They could thereby find themselves in a trap. If the Bosnian Serbs say "no" to the Vance-Owen plan on 16 May, Moscow will be forced to some extent to reckon with this "expression of the people's will," and will find itself in international isolation.

"Our task in the days remaining before the referendum is not to allow any hasty, emotional decisions by the world community," a high-ranking diplomat said. The Kremlin's attitude to international military action against the Bosnian Serbs remains cool. Nonetheless there is an impression that Moscow is reconciled to the idea that it is inevitable if the Serbs finally reject the peace plan. The only thing Russia insists on is that no major operations should be launched unilaterally. According to diplomats who were present at Christopher's talks with Kozyrev, the secretary of state promised that the United States will coordinate its moves with Russia and will only act on the basis of UN Security Council decisions.

All the indications are that Moscow will be able to postpone the start of military operations against the Bosnian Serbs at least until 16 May. Especially since it will take the Western allies some weeks to prepare for large-scale action. If the participants in the referendum come out against the Vance-Owen plan, a resolution on the use of force will most likely be put to a vote in the Security Council, and Russia is unlikely to use its veto.

However, this question could be examined even before 16 May—in the event that the Serbs do not stop their attacks on the Muslim enclave of Zepa in Eastern Bosnia. The Foreign Ministry does not rule out the possibility that if a real threat arises to the city, where 35,000 refugees have gathered, members of the Security Council will demand the immediate adoption of an anti-Serbian resolution. In that case the Russian representative will probably insist that the resolution come into force not immediately, but, say, after two weeks, giving the Serbs one last reprieve.

In the morning of 7 May Vitaliy Churkin, the Russian president's special representative, who had traveled urgently to Belgrade, began talks with the Yugoslav leaders. The purpose of the trip, according to well-informed Foreign Ministry sources, is to win from Belgrade concrete steps capable of breaking the deadlock. Moscow greeted with approval Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's decision on an economic embargo against the Bosnian Serbs. The next step, according to Russian diplomats, could be the stationing of international observers on the border between Serbia and Bosnia.

Andrey Kozyrev has not abandoned his idea of holding a meeting of foreign ministers of the five permanent

members of the UN Security Council on Bosnian territory. In his opinion, in the run-up to the 16 May referendum such an act would have psychological significance. Sources in Smolensk Square [Foreign Ministry] do not rule out that Kozyrev could leave for Sarajevo on his own in the next few days, without waiting for his Security Council colleagues.

Japan 'Understands' Yeltsin's Decision To Postpone Visit

LD0705165393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1623 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[Text] Tokyo May 7 TASS—The Japanese Government "understands why Russian President Boris Yeltsin has now found it impossible" to pay a visit to Tokyo in May, press secretary of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, Masamichi Hanabusa, told a briefing for foreign journalists here today.

In reply to a question by ITAR-TASS correspondent, he noted that the proposal of the Russian side to put off the president's visit until September-November "is one of the possibilities, and we intend to discuss the date which will be suitable for both sides."

According to Masamichi Hanabusa, the Japanese Government believes that the realisation of the visit in autumn cannot be problematic from the viewpoint of the internal political situation in Japan itself, when elections of a chairman of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, and probably, parliamentary elections, will be held in the country.

The official spokesman for the Japanese Foreign Ministry said that Boris Yeltsin's decision not to pay a visit to Tokyo in May would not have any impact on the forthcoming Tokyo meeting of the leaders of the group of seven leading industrialized countries (G-7) scheduled for July.

Deputy Foreign Minister Comments

MK0805102693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 2

[Dmitriy Gornostayev report under the rubric "Details": "Japan Trip Not Postponed Because its Precise Dates Have Not Been Announced"]

[Text] You cannot cancel a date that has not been made. Most of Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Georgiy Kunadze's remarks at a press conference devoted to Boris Yeltsin's visit to Japan boiled down to this idea. On 5 May there appeared reports that the trip to Tokyo by the head of the Russian state had been postponed for the second time and would not take place 25 through 27 May, as many had supposed. These dates, however, had not been officially finalized and were regarded only as possible, Kunadze stressed, hence one cannot speak of any postponement of the visit.

Indeed, Yeltsin will hardly go to Japan late in May, though this possibility should not be discounted completely, but that does not mean at all that the Russian president's visit has been scrapped. Systematic and sufficiently serious preparations for it are under way both in the administrations of Russia and Japan, Georgiy Kunadze stated. The sides apparently do not want to make haste, but rather prefer to think everything over well and discuss everything in advance; in other words, you must measure the cloth seven times before you start cutting it.

According to Kunadze, the tough struggle waged by conservative opposition forces against the president's and government's policy of reforms is one of the reasons the visit will be hard to bring off in late May. There are also technical hurdles: insufficient time to prepare a meeting at this level and make adequate security arrangements for it, and disagreement between the sides on some political issues and on the wording of final documents.

The meeting of the two leaders will most probably take place this September or October—at least the deputy foreign minister described these dates as a "possibility that is being explored in the most serious manner." Besides, it is believed in the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that there is a greater possibility of a Yeltsin visit to Japan after the Tokyo G-7 summit than before. It is assumed that the Russian-Japanese summit, when it takes place, will consider documents on defining areas for economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, prevention of accidents on the high seas, and so forth. The signing of joint political statements on important international issues, and agreements on opening consular offices in Niigata and Khabarovsk is also possible.

Japanese leaders have taken calmly the news that the Russian president may not visit the Land of the Rising Sun in May, and have not seen it as a violation of protocol, something that also confirms the thesis about some improvement in understanding between Japan and the Russian Federation. Georgiy Kunadze declared in this connection that there are grounds to believe that the Japanese Government will take a stance renouncing the linkage between territorial arguments with Russia and giving it economic assistance.

Kozyrev Receives Iranian Special Representative

LD0705152893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1430 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today received [name indistinct] a special representative of the Iranian foreign minister. They reaffirmed Russia's and Iran's intentions to work constructively together in the interests of a peaceful settlement to the Bosnian crisis on the basis of the Vance-Owen plan.

Commentary Notes Good Prospects for Iranian Ties

NC0805094893 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 7 May 93

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] 'Ali Besharati, Iranian first deputy foreign minister, recently spoke in favor of expanding Iranian-Russian relations. The Tehran-based ABRAR newspaper published an interview with Besharati, who stressed that following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia's new leaders have adopted a realistic approach toward Iran. He said that it is on this basis that Iran is ready to expand its relations with Russia. Our commentator Sergey Viktorov says the following on this:

Besharati's remarks in the ABRAR interview on Iran's readiness to expand relations with Russia is (?not) the first sign of Iran's wish for closer ties with Moscow. Moscow's position on this issue is similar. [Passage indistinct] I think that the (?reasons) for this similarity of views on joint relations [words indistinct].

[Words indistinct] Russian-Iranian economic cooperation is growing each day. Russian experts are working in Iran and [words indistinct]. Relations in (?narrower) fields such as the military-technological field are expanding. According to information, Tehran intends to tender a request to Moscow for the purchase of a large quantity of arms and materiel. Incidentally, this comes when a number of Western countries are persistently trying to limit the import of equipment and technology that has the so-called dual-use possibility—that is, equipment and technology that can also be used in the military field.

As for regional and international problems, it seems that even if Moscow-Tehran interests do not conform completely, they at least are not very different. Both countries are extremely interested in solving conflicts in the Transcaucasus, and first and foremost the Azerbaijani-Armenian dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh. However, Iran [words indistinct] to the tripartite initiative by Turkey, Russia [words indistinct]. But this initiative [words indistinct] in conformity with (?Iran's) interests, since it has been a long time now since Iran's leaders have decisively [words indistinct] a political solution.

I think that [words indistinct] on Bosnia, too. As you know, Russian diplomacy on the Bosnian problem was sufficiently flexible and did its best to convince the Bosnian Serbs [words indistinct] of the problem and to accept the Vance-Owen plan.

Of course, it is improbable that the [words indistinct] in Tajikistan will reach an agreement. But apparently this problem cannot obstruct bilateral relations, especially when events in Tajikistan show that the Tajik opposition has a very small chance of changing the situation to its favor.

On the whole, as you can see, Russia and Iran have what it takes to expand bilateral relations and to carry out [words indistinct], and (?it is hoped) that this [words indistinct] will serve the (?interests) of both countries.

Kuwaiti Official Briefed on Gulf Security Measures

LD0705192193 Kuwait KSC Television in Arabic 1800 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Sliman Majid Al-Shahin stressed Kuwait's eagerness to develop its relations with Russia in various fields. The undersecretary, who is currently on a visit to Moscow, said that he had held talks with senior Russian officials. He pointed out that the Russian deputy premier had shown special interest in developing relations with Kuwait in the military and investment fields.

The undersecretary said that Russia was taking practical steps within the framework of efforts to guarantee stability in the Arab Gulf region.

Official Pleased With Progress of Middle East Talks

LD0705161093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1504 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Nikishov]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—A representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry has expressed satisfaction with the progress of the ninth round of the Arab-Israeli peace talk during an interview with ITAR-TASS here today. He described it as "a stage of concrete discussions and work on practical agreements to resolve essential problems of the Middle East settlement".

The Russian diplomat believes that "the sides are in earnest determined to quickly find solutions to the key problems involved". He said they were backed in their efforts by both sponsors of the peace process—Russia and the United States, who are working in close coordination with each other.

At the same time, the Russian diplomat noted with regret that the political background of the talks was being marred, as before, by reoccurring tensions on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. In this connection, the Russian sponsor again calls on the parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict to "display maximum restraint and flexibility, not to aggravate the situation by new acts of violence and mutual hostility," the representative of the Russian Foreign Ministry stated.

Deputy Minister Continues Southern Africa Tour

Meets Zimbabwean President

LD0705154293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Johannesburg May 7 TASS—Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe received special representative of the Russian president and Deputy Russian Foreign Minister Boris Kolokolov, currently on an African tour, on Thursday in Harare.

The official passed over a personal message of Boris Yeltsin to Mugabe. The message was received with satisfaction.

Mugabe welcomed results of the Russian referendum, which, in his words, reflected the Russians' will to further reforms. The Zimbabwean leader voiced his government's striving to give a fresh impetus to the development of friendly relations with Russia.

On the same day Kolokolov met Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira to pass him over a message from Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. A friendly meeting discussed the situation in the African south and a number of other international issues.

Ends Visit

LD0905174593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1728 GMT 9 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Pretoria May 9 TASS—A special envoy of the Russian president and Deputy Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Boris Kolokolov, has ended his visit to South Africa.

Kolokolov met with South African President Frederik de Klerk, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, and President of the African National Congress Nelson Mandela. The Russian envoy gave the three African leaders personal messages from Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

During talks with leaders of the two major states in the south of Africa, a mutual desire was expressed to develop mutually advantageous bilateral relations. The sides unanimously declared that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful talks aimed at reaching a political settlement in South Africa.

"The programme of our visit included a move which in the past would have been regarded as a strictly confidential matter not to be made public by the press. The matter concerns a conference of Russia's ambassadors to seven countries of the South African region, which was held in Harare," Kolokolov told ITAR-TASS before departure to Moscow.

"Heads of our diplomatic missions to Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa arrived at a unanimous conclusion that Russia's prestige in this region was not declining. Ambassadors noted that leaders of the countries in which they are accredited, are convinced that only the way of reforms and economic transformations pursued by Russia and regarded by them as a political course of President Boris Yeltsin, can ensure normal development for Russia in the near future," Kolokolov said.

"Our discussions focused on the situation in South Africa. An exchange of opinions was important on how the situation in South Africa was assessed not only in Pretoria, but in the capitals of the above-mentioned states. From the point of view of Russia's interests, the discussion was important, and we shall make no secret of it, because the developments in South Africa as the largest country of the subcontinent, to a great extent influence the situation in the whole region. We should be aware in what direction the South African process is developing in order to abide by a firm foreign policy course so as not to lose contacts which were earlier established with South African countries and which Russia intends to maintain and develop," Kolokolov said.

Western Group Commanders Hold Talks at NATO

PM0705142993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 May 93 p 3

[Vadim Markushin report under the rubric "From Our News Bureau": "Commander in Chief of the Western Group of Forces at NATO"]

[Text] Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces, paid a brief visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels with a group of officers from the Western Group of Forces staff.

Meetings were held with NATO Secretary General M. Woerner and with Marshal R. Vincent, chairman of the the Military Committee, during which questions of the further expansion of contacts between Russia and NATO in the military sphere were discussed.

NATO Wants Regular Contacts With Military

LD0805165793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1322 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Zavinovskiy]

[Text] St. Petersburg May 8 TASS—A high-ranking NATO official believes the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation will not radically boost cooperation with Russia in the near future and will rather concentrate on regular contacts with the Russian military.

In the last two year progress has been made in direct military contacts not only at the top level, Michael

Legge, assistant of the NATO secretary general, division of defence planning and policy, told TASS on Saturday during his visit to St. Petersburg.

"I do not foresee any sharp changes in the format of the cooperation which takes place, the problem is to make contacts more often, regular and planned", he added.

Legge arrived in St. Petersburg with a group of NATO officials who participated in the conference "political and military integration in CIS countries" in Moscow. They met on Saturday with Deputy Commander of the Leningrad Military District Valeriy Chernov.

In Moscow the NATO delegation met with representatives of the Foreign and Defence Ministries, but Legge said that it is always important to meet local representatives and not only hold discussions with politicians. "One of the tasks of the NATO at present is to achieve cooperation and understanding with the CIS and Russia", he said.

CFE Treaty Creates Problems for Flanks

MK0805093093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 14, 7 May 93 (Signed to Press 6 May) p 3

[Pavel Felgengauer report: "CFE Treaty Needs Correction Again. Western Democracies Express Understanding and Sympathy, But This Does Not Solve the Problem of Russian Flank Quotas"]

[Text] The limitations imposed on the air forces and armies of European countries by the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) are to come into force in 1995. At present, however, it is already clear that strict compliance with the treaty in its present form may create significant difficulties for Russia.

In 1990, when the USSR still existed, the redeployment of troops and weapons systems on the eve of the signing of CFE in Paris (November 1990) robbed Russia of the best divisions, which were transferred to the jurisdiction of Ukraine and Belarus. Under the additional Tashkent Protocol of 1992 Russia is to cut down its weapons systems in the European part of the country to 6,400 tanks, 11,480 armored combat vehicles (ACV), 6,415 artillery systems, 3,450 combat aircraft; and 890 combat helicopters, which is entirely sufficient for defensive purposes. Quotas for the flanks, however—the Leningrad Military District and the North Caucasus Military District—are clearly set too low, particularly with regard to ACV's (with the ceiling of 580 vehicles in regular units for either district).

The North Caucasus alone needs a much greater number of ACV's both to keep peace inside the country and to protect new borders. There are at present three and a half motorized rifle divisions subordinated to the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry in the region, and an Internal Affairs Ministry Border Troops district is under formation along with the North Caucasian Border Troops district of the Russian Security Ministry. Units and military formations from Transcaucasia and the Baltic states are being moved to the North Caucasian Military District, which has turned from a rear district into a frontline district, and new "light" brigades of the rapid deployment forces are being set up.

In the Leningrad Military District, on the opposite flank, the situation is now stable, but it is essential to foresee the possible heightening of tensions in the northeastern, predominantly Russian-speaking region of Estonia, territorial claims laid by Estonia to Russian territories, and also the problem of massive smuggling of strategic materials via new Russian borders. Should the situation deteriorate sharply, it is precisely ACV's that will be needed for pacification and reinforced border patrols.

It should be said that Moscow-based military and diplomatic representatives of the key Western powers are aware of the "flank" problem; furthermore, they privately express diplomatic "understanding and sympathy regarding the complex situation that has taken shape in the Northern Caucasus." A military attache from one of the NATO countries told your SEGODNYA correspondent that "Russia should announce the existence of a serious problem with regard to 'flank' quotas and try to persuade Western public opinion to acknowledge in public and not only via diplomatic channels that its stance is justified."

CFE, however, is only one of a whole range of agreements on disarmament and the withdrawal of troops of the former USSR which have, being in principle fully reasonable, nonetheless put Russia in general and its armed forces in particular in an extremely awkward position. It turned out that Soviet-trained diplomats lack any interest in dealing with the "small" technical details of the already signed agreements and are completely unprepared for this task. Specialists from the Defense Ministry and the General Staff of the Russian Armed Forces, for their part, are unable, as the experience of the past few years shows, to foresee possible political developments in the country and in adjacent regions. The customary practice whereby documents had to be agreed upon by various ministries and departments does not work in the new conditions, either.

Given the current situation in the Russian top echelons, what remains to be done is to set up a new federal department (ministry) to renegotiate ("clarify") the agreements that have already been concluded (CFE, SALT, the Convention on Chemical Weapons, various treaties on the withdrawal of troops, on collective security and so forth).

Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, already said at a press conference at the beginning of March 1993 that "owing to changes in the situation, we need new quotas: Weapons will have to be moved from one district to another while keeping the agreed general ceiling intact." There is no doubt, however, that much more will need to be done: Official statements should be made at the top level, this issue should be included in the

agendas of all summits, and so forth. In this event, the "flank" problem may be substantially resolved by the time Russia gets around to reviewing other treaties, too.

More on Joint Defense, Foreign Ministry Session

PM0705151393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Nikolay Burbyga and Konstantin Eggert: "Diplomats and Military Discuss Future of Russian Peacekeepers"]

[Text] A joint session of the Russian Defense Ministry and Foreign Ministry military collegiums was held for the first time in Moscow at the Russian Federation Defense Ministry building.

The issues examined at this session included the participation of Russian servicemen in peacekeeping operations, their status, and also social guarantees for those taking part in carrying out peacekeeping operations.

It was announced at the joint session of the two departments that Russia has been carrying out peacekeeping missions for 20 years now. It began in October 1973 when a group of Russian observers first arrived in the Near East. After this its peacekeeping functions gradually expanded. In April 1991 five teams of Russian military observers were sent to the Iraq-Kuwait border region, and since April 1992 an entire motorized infantry battalion of Russian servicemen has been actively involved in the peacekeeping process in Yugoslavia under UN auspices.

At the present time Russian servicemen are carrying out peacekeeping functions both inside and outside the CIS. Today the expression "the Russians are coming" has a calming effect on people, and only unscrupulous politicians could deny the significance of the role played by Russian servicemen in the peacekeeping mission, it was stressed at the session of the two ministries.

Speeches by Russian Foreign Ministry representatives—Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his deputy Sergey Lavrov—touched on the issues which are currently giving the biggest headache to those engaged in formulating our country's stance in the sphere of international peacekeeping activity. The main issue here is the role of NATO in the upcoming peacekeeping operation in the former Yugoslavia. According to Russian diplomats, the participation in it of the North Atlantic alliance should be implemented exclusively under UN auspices.

"It would not be right to entrust all the work involved in preparing the Balkans operation exclusively to NATO staffs. This action should be carried out with direct Russian participation from the planning stage," Andrey Kozyrev stated. All the indications are that the rumors circulating recently about major disagreements between the Defense Ministry and the Foreign Ministry over the size of the Russian peacekeeping contingent in the former Yugoslavia have been greatly exaggerated.

Speaking at the joint session of the two collegiums, A. Kozyrev put forward a number of proposals on material provision for Russian peacekeeping activity. He urged experts to prepare information on the expenditure incurred by Moscow in carrying out peacekeeping operations on CIS territory and stated that he intends to submit this material to the international community, which, according to him, should consider possible partial compensation of Moscow's expenses. Moreover, the head of Russian diplomacy was in favor of more active participation by Russia in international "competition" for contracts to supply UN peacekeeping forces with hardware and equipment. In the minister's opinion, this would be an additional source of income and a good advertisement for our military-industrial complex.

Grachev, Kozyrev Discuss Options

PM0705154793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 93 pp 1,3

[Aleksandr Pelts report: "Russian 'Blue Berets'—A Hope for Peace and Stability: First Joint Session of Russian Defense and Foreign Ministry Collegiums Held"]

[Text] There has long been a need for such a joint session, as Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister, stressed in his opening address. Russia today is the only state on the territory of the former Union which voluntarily assumed very complex and responsible peacemaking functions. Russia's "blue berets" are actively participating in the work to localize many regional conflicts, are working to secure the disengagement of opposing sides, are supervising the process of their disarmament, and are taking part in collective acts in distant foreign parts. As a result many tens of thousands of people in the former Union republics have been saved from certain death, violence, starvation, and disease.

We have a wealth of experience of peacemaking missions (the first observers were sent to the Near East in October 1973, as is well known). But the present problems make it necessary to assess the role and significance of peacemaking operations in a new light, define their legal status clearly, and ensure the precise organization of a mechanism for the use of peacemaking forces, especially in actions under the auspices of the United Nations, the CSCE, the CIS, and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. As Pavel Grachev stressed, Defense and Foreign Ministry experts together with specialists from the Foreign Intelligence Service have already elaborated the basic principles of the organizational development and use of Russian peacemaking forces. Primarily this relates to the final elaboration of legislative acts defining the legal basis of the participation of servicemen and civilians in these operations and the principles of the recruitment, training, and use of Russia's peacemaking forces. The main thing is to ensure that all the actions of the Russian contingents taking part in collective actions are in strict accordance with Russia's national security interests.

The present events in many of the former Union republics, Pavel Grachev stressed, demand immediate actions from us. Thus because of the rapid development of tragic events Russian troops are the only force capable of halting the senseless bloodshed. That is what happened in Moldova, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and Tajikistan. However, it is this very fact which gives some politicians grounds for making statements about alleged imperial ambitions on Russia's part. It is easy to see the absurdity of these accusations. But the corresponding conclusions should be drawn: The peacemaking forces must be used on a strict legal basis. There is much that the politicians themselves can and must do here.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev spoke about the many problems involved in the use of the Russian peacemaking forces. He stressed that when stationed in the armed conflict zones the "blue berets" should not be left virtually defenseless, as has happened before. The present character of peacemaking operations both on CIS territory and under the auspices of the United Nations and the CSCE shows that they must have every opportunity to deliver an appropriate rebuff and not "submit to the mercy of bandit forces."

The foreign policy department leader devoted much attention to the prospects for the development of the situation in Bosnia, where, as is well known, there will soon be a referendum on the Vance-Owen plan. If this plan is approved, Russia, like many European countries and the United States, will be faced with the task of backing it up. It is important to make every effort right now to ensure that Russia's contribution to the attainment of peace and stability is realistic and weighty.

The collegium joint session discussed the experience of the use of peacemaking forces in regional conflicts. Colonel General Georgiy Kondratyev, deputy defense minister, reported that today over 10,000 Russian servicemen are taking part in peacemaking actions. This work is difficult and involves real danger. Regrettably 32 servicemen have already died and 66 have been wounded in the fulfillment of their lofty and noble mission.

The fact is that the disengagement of warring sides is not the only task that Russia's "blue berets" have to perform now. They are forced to take every measure to stabilize the situation in the conflict regions and restore the conditions for the normal life of civilians. The experience of Russia's 201st Division, stationed in Tajikistan, is especially indicative in this respect. More than once the Russian officers and men have risked their lives to supply bread, medicines, and clothing to starving cities. It was they who gave protection to industrial installations and administrative centers of vital importance to Dushanbe.

This experience is invaluable since it has been acquired in the field, as it were, literally under fire. It cannot be disregarded. However, it was stressed at the session that it is necessary to create a special center for the training of peacemaking forces. Such plans are already afoot. In particular, it is proposed to open just such a training center in the Volga Military District. It is noteworthy that international experience will be used in the training of Russia's "blue berets." The question of the work of instructors from Scandinavia and the use of the relevant manuals and overseas training is being resolved.

The joint session of the collegiums of the Defense Ministry and Foreign Ministry adopted a joint decree for the purpose of completing the elaboration of a single concept for the participation of the Russian Armed Forces in peacemaking actions and the place and role of those operations in Russian foreign policy.

French Paper: Rapid Reaction Force To Be Set Up

PM0705142893 Paris LE MONDE in French 7 May 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Moscow Is Establishing Rapid Action Force Formed Mainly of Paratroopers"]

[Text] Russia is setting up a rapid action force of 130,000 men, according to the OBJECTIF DEFENSE letter sent by the French Defense Ministry to its unit "chiefs." Rapid action forces are now very fashionable in armies almost everywhere in the world—this is true in France, in the United States (with the rapid deployment force), and NATO (with the allied rapid reaction force)—because they are mobile and light on the ground in sudden and unforeseeable crises. "Russia is planning the creation of a rapid action force for 1995," OBJECTIF DEFENSE writes, "formed mainly of paratroop units brought back from the Baltic states and the Caucasus. These mobile forces will be fully operational after the withdrawal of the Russian military forces from other republics in the former USSR."

Two echelons of this corps intended for intervention, "an immediate reaction force and a rapid deployment force," are to be based in the military regions of the Urals and the Volga. The immediate reaction force alone will comprise some 130,000 men.

Recruiting paratroopers to make up 60 percent of the total number of its men, the Russian rapid reaction force will also comprise marines, air "cover," and special intervention units, OBJECTIF DEFENSE writes.

Victory Day Activities

Victory Day Celebration Activities Reported

Khasbulatov Address

LD0805134893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1118 GMT 8 May 93

[Speech to the nation by Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, on the occasion of Victory Day; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed fellow citizens: On the eve of our great celebration, the celebration of victory in the Great Fatherland War, I would like to congratulate our fellow citizens and, as chairman of the Interparliamentary Assembly of the countries of the Commonwealth, I would like to congratulate everyone on the celebration of the great victory.

We all participated, all our fathers and grandfathers, the whole, vast country, took part in defeating a very mighty and strong enemy. There were vast battles which took place over huge expanses from the Volga to Germany. All the peoples of the former Soviet Union took part in these battles. Of course, this comradeship-in-arms has remained eternally in the memory not only of the participants but also of their children and grandchildren. Of course, this will leave its mark in history for many ages and centuries to come.

For many long years, for many of us for centuries, we were in a united family, a united state. Whether this was a bad state or a good state, people of course felt quite close to one another, even if they perhaps did not feel comfortable, as it were, about the authorities or the political regime. But this is another matter. I am referring to purely human relations.

At present, of course, I would not want to start talking politics in view of this special day, on the occasion of which I have ventured to congratulate our people who are celebrating this great festival. All of our countries, including the Russian Federation, of course, are experiencing many difficulties, much adversity, and of course our former fighting men, their families, pensioners, young people, and children are also finding themselves in rather poor circumstances. But in all our countries, including the Russian Federation, the parliaments are doing a lot to alleviate our peoples' situation.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that in all of countries are witnessing a quite dynamic development of democratic institutions and of the very principles of parliamentarianism, presupposing the democratic direction of our societies.

You know that in Moscow on 1 May, to the great regret and to the great grief of virtually the whole world, a great calamity, bloody events, took place. The Supreme Soviet is carefully looking into these events. A commission has been set up. Of course, those to blame for these very tragic events will without fail receive the punishment they deserve.

We have undertaken a whole range of measures that make it certain that 9 May will not be clouded by similar tragic consequences. I am saying this especially to reassure our people, because I have received very many telephone calls, letters, and telegrams expressing bewilderment and protests from our citizens, Russian citizens, and from citizens from other CIS countries, and I would like to reassure our people so they can feel confident and can really believe that such a tragic turn of events will not occur again.

I would like to express the hope that the development of our countries will proceed along the path of deepening our cooperation, especially now, when we have experienced the price of freedom, the price of independence. Of course, there is perhaps no particular desire to restore some of the forms of the former Union, and no such pretensions are felt in the Russian Federation or in any other states. But at the same time, we all feel how close we are to each other, we all realize the vital importance of economic union, of cultural union, of some sort of closer cooperation in the sphere of civil obligations, in the whole sphere of collective security.

The Interparliamentary Assembly, of which I am chairman, as you know, is called upon to tackle all of these questions. There will be a meeting of the Interparliamentary Assembly in two weeks in St. Petersburg. One would like to hope that at that meeting we will put forward, discuss, and agree on how to resolve a whole range of issues worrying our fellow citizens.

I would like to give assurances that no one should feel themselves infringed upon. No one in the Russian Federation, including in the south of Russia, where there are certain conflicts, should see any threat on the part of the authorities. Of course, we have adopted a course of using purely political means to resolve problems which arise and, naturally, our policy consists of getting away from instruments of employing any strong-arm methods of resolving problems which arise.

I would like to say that we very much count on the celebration of victory, the celebration of the 9 May festival, being a day of national accord. I would like it if now, when the election battles, so to speak, connected with the holding of the referendum have been left behind, we can find in ourselves the courage—and the politicians can also find the courage—to sit down normally and to speak about those contradictions, those conflicts which are shaking society, and to resolve all problems precisely by means of dialogue, by means of elucidating specific positions and regulating these positions for the good of our peoples, for the prosperity of our countries.

I congratulate you once again, dear fellow countrymen, dear citizens of the countries of the Commonwealth, for the coming victory celebrations on 9 May which, of

course, is really a celebration of the greatness of the soul of our peoples, who defeated a very powerful opponent and who ensured the independent existence of our state and now of our states. I congratulate you on the coming festival, dear friends, dear fellow countrymen, dear citizens of Russia.

Grachev Broadcasts Message

LD0905080593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0325 GMT 9 May 93

[Message to war veterans by Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on Victory Day; place and date of issue not given—recorded]

[Text] This is a sacred day for us, one that is celebrated and commemorated. It has become a symbol of unequaled valor and heroism. Nearly five decades ago the war ended victoriously and became part of our great homeland's history of suffering.

From the very first minutes of the war, the great spirit of our people and their ability to increase their efforts ten-fold showed themselves at a time of great test. There is not a family among us that was not burned by the fire of war, that would not have surrendered what it most treasures and reveres to the cause of routing the enemy, to the cause of our victory.

Today we bow our heads in memory of the front-line fighters who sustained the onslaught of the armored fascist hordes. To their last breath, to their last drop of blood, they remained at their firing positions and fulfilled to the last their duty as soldiers. We are proud of your generation, which by its courage and steadfastness shattered the myth that the Third Reich's military machine was invincible. You thus won the respect and sincere admiration of people of goodwill throughout the world.

We in the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation assure you, dear veterans, that we are ready to hold our colors high and with dignity in honor of your glory, to maintain the combat readiness of the Army and Navy at a sufficient and reliable level.

On this great day, allow me, on behalf of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, to offer Victory Day celebrations to all who took part in the war, to wish you long life, good cheer, optimism, joie de vie. Thank you. Happy Victory Day!

Yeltsin Congratulates Black Sea Fleet

LD0805082293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] The Russian president's press service today circulated the text of a telegram sent by Boris Yeltsin to the commander of the Red Banner Black Sea Fleet. The message says:

Dear Black Sea sailors, I sincerely congratulate you on the great holiday of Victory Day. For all Russians, all the citizens of the states of the Commonwealth, the day of 9 May is colored with particular feelings. It is a day full of gladness because of the victory gained over a mortal enemy. At the same time, it is a day full of pain for the loss of millions of sailors and soldiers who did not return from the war.

This is our common holiday; it is a holiday of young people who do not know the burdens of war and its enormous deprivations, as well as of the veterans who experienced all the bitterness of the adversities of wartime. The soldiers of wartime paid with blood and their lives for the freedom of their motherland, for the happy future of their kith and kin. Their feat is great, glorious, and immortal.

The Russian president has expressed profound gratitude and conveyed heartfelt greetings to the veterans of the Black Sea Fleet. The president's telegram says: On Victory Day the evening sky will be lit up with a festive firework display. This is in honor of the victors, in honor of you, in memory of all the soldiers who fought in the war. I wish you health, happiness, peace, and well-being.

Few Militia, No OMON Men at Rally

LD0905091593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0737 GMT 9 May 93

[Excerpts] As I said a few minutes ago, a huge column of demonstrators is at this moment proceeding from Belorusskiy railway station along Tverskaya Street in Moscow. There are representatives of various political parties in this column: the National Salvation Front, supporters of Working Russia, Working Moscow, the United Front of the Working People, and the Russian Communist Working Party. The procession is led by war veterans and people's deputies. Our special correspondent Andrey Nikiforov is among the demonstrators. He is on the line to tell us how this procession is going on.

[Nikiforov] Good morning. As you said, there is indeed a huge crowd of demonstrators; there are a lot of people here. Honestly, I cannot tell you even approximately how many. At present the procession is in Mayakovskiy Square on Tverskaya Street. An impromptu mass meeting will start here in 15 or 20 minutes. [passage omitted]

Near the Belorusskiy Railway Station Square, I met a procession of demonstrators carrying red flags and with banners which had the names of various political parties and movements on them. You have already said that these are the National Salvation Front, Working Moscow, and the Russian National Assembly. In the first rows of the main column of the demonstrators are many veterans and top generals. Among them I saw General Makashov and Colonel Alksnis, deputies Astafyev, Baburin, and Isakov, and leader of the Russian National Assembly Sterligov. I did not see Anpilov. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Could you tell us whether there are many Special Purpose Militia Detachment [OMON] men on the sides of the streets?

[Nikiforov] What surprised me most of all when I was walking along Tverskaya Street toward this demonstration was that there are very few militia men around, and I have not seen OMON at all. [passage omitted]

Slogans Mostly 'Political'

LD0905093593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] By 1130, the procession which started from Belorusskiy Station had concentrated in Triumfalnaya Square, formerly Mayakovskiy Square. Here, the organizers of the procession—the Union of Officers and organizations that have linked up with it, such as the National Salvation Front, Working Moscow, Working Russia and other communist organizations—intend to stage a rally.

In the opinion of Sergey Terekhov, leader of the Union of Officers, today's procession and celebrations organized by the Union of Officers will be conducted in a peaceful manner, without excesses, because its organizers are cooperating with Interior Ministry bodies. The main thing, said Stanislav Terekhov, is to make sure that there are no provocateurs among us.

His point of view is shared by one of the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, Peoples' Deputy Ilya Konstantinov. Thus far, the demonstration has been proceeding in a fairly peaceful way. No one has yet tried to estimate the number of people gathered here, but it is clear that there are as many as on 1 May in Kaluzhskaya Square.

It is notable that the slogans carried by the demonstrators are predominantly political rather than celebratory. There are practically no slogans calling on people to honor the memory of those who fell in the war or to celebrate Victory Day. Most of the slogans refer to power politics in one way or the other. There are also the usual anti-Semitic slogans.

Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Visit Tomb

LD0905082193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0811 GMT 9 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin on Sunday [9 May] laid wreaths at the unknown soldier's tomb near the Kremlin wall on the occasion of the Victory Day anniversary.

The ceremony also involved Sergey Filatov, chief of the presidential administration, deputy prime ministers, cabinet ministers, and Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov of Moscow.

In a talk to journalists in the Aleksandr garden after the ceremony, Yeltsin expressed confidence that today's holiday would go off without excesses. All appropriate measures have been taken, he said.

Having congratulated war veterans on the victory day, Yeltsin pointed out that the holiday would live on forever. He said he is in anguish over the loss of those who died before the victory was won.

"Considering that the state of affairs in the economy will somewhat improve, we expect to provide large-scale social protection for servicemen and war veterans," Yeltsin said. He called on the veterans not to lose heart. "Russia now experiences difficulties but it is already getting stabilised. The decline is over and Russia begins to rise," the president said.

A package of documents has been prepared with due regard for the April 25 referendum. The documents are to be signed immediately after the holiday, Yeltsin said. The documents concern an acceleration of reforms, political issues and, most importantly, a new constitution. A good start has already been made in this respect. The presidential draft constitution is now under study at the local level.

A working group for a preliminary discussion of suggestions related to the draft constitution is to meet on May 11. Suggestions will be collected until May 20. After that, they will be generalised. The final draft constitution must be ready by June 1.

A number of regions which already had time to study the draft constitution are of the opinion that it is a "good and well-adjusted one", Yeltsin said. The draft constitution reflects provisions which they waited for—the Federative Treaty, a presidential form of government, and human rights.

Opposition March Reported Calm

LD0905115393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 May 93

[Video report by correspondent N. Pavlov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Demonstrators with red banners and St. Andrew flags gathered in the square in front of Belorusskiy station this morning. According to militia data, there are as many as 5,000 people. From there those gathered set out along Tverskaya Street toward the Kremlin. There are veterans among the demonstrators. The column is being escorted by cars from the State Traffic Inspectorate. The first rally was held at the foot of the monument to the revolutionary poet Vladimir Mayakovskiy. Opposition leaders Umalatova, Baburin, Makashov, and Terekhov spoke at the rally. Those assembled honored the memory of those who fell in the years of the Great Fatherland War, but for all that the leitmotif of the rally

remained the same: We will restore the Soviet Union, we have been betrayed, the country has been brought to ruin, we will be victorious.

At 1220, the demonstrators went to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier to lay wreaths. The participants in the demonstration are in a peaceful mood. They are behaving calmly. Terekhov, chairman of the Union of Officers, warned the participants in the procession against provocations in order to prevent a repetition of the events of 1 May.

Although the procession is taking place calmly, those who are least trustful decided to use individual means of protection. [video shows woman shown with saucepan on her head]

At the current moment, the participants have entered Red Square.

Khasbulatov Participates in Celebrations

LD0905102493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1000 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov laid flowers today at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and at the Bolshoy Theatre, where according to tradition veterans of the Great Patriotic War gather on Victory Day. He congratulated the veterans on the national holiday and assured them that the Russian parliament will continue to undertake measures for the social protection of the war veterans and pensioners and to stabilize the life of society.

Zorkin Calls For 'Civil Compromise'

LD0905112193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1109 GMT 9 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—"I have a special attitude to the Victory Day holiday. My father is a World War Two veteran. Some relatives were killed in the war. I would like the V-Day to become not only the symbol of national concord but also a starting-point of a civil compromise," Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, told ITAR-TASS on Sunday [9 May] after a wreath-laying ceremony at the unknown soldier's tomb.

When asked how did he account for the court's participation in a joint wreath-laying ceremony together with the Supreme Soviet (parliament) and the vice-president, Zorkin said:

"A procedure for the laying of wreaths at the unknown soldier's tomb has remained unchanged for the court. The president wanted to lay a wreath separately. This is his right. The court together with the two other branches of power—executive and legislative—used the usual, previously existing, wreath-laying procedure".

Yeltsin, Others Visit Memorial

LD0905120893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1141 GMT 9 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Tamara Ivanova, Igor Veksler and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow May 9 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Sunday [9 May] attended a ceremony marking the opening of the first phase of the Victory Memorial on Poklonnaya hill in Moscow.

The ceremony was also attended by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Deputy Chairmen of Parliament Yuriy Voronin and Nikolay Ryabov, by Valeriy Zorkin, chief justice of the Constitutional Court, by members of the Russian and Moscow governments, and prominent military leaders.

Yeltsin viewed a documentary and art exhibition dedicated to the defenders of the native land. On view are hundreds of works of art from various museums of the country and from collections of war-veteran artists. The alleys of the memorial complex and victory park as if bring the guests of the festivities almost half a century backward in time. On display there are specimens of combat hardware and armaments of World War Two vintage.

During the tour of the exhibition and a stroll about the territory of the memorial, the president repeatedly stopped in order to congratulate war veterans and wish them good health and well-being. He was greeted by thousands of Muscovites who came to Poklonnaya hill.

Among speakers at the ceremony were Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov and Defence Minister Pavel Grachev. Then a gala concert was given, with a choir of war veterans singing together with leading performers.

Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Zorkin Attend 'Party'

LD0905165593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 9 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] In an unexpected development earlier today, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet [Ruslan Khasbulatov], the vice president [Aleksandr Rutskoy], and the chairman of the Constitutional Court [Valeriy Zorkin] visited the Gorkiy culture and leisure park in Moscow. They took part in a mass outdoor party and congratulated those taking part in the festivities on the occasion of the holiday. The high guests were given a hearty welcome by those at the party.

Opposition Demonstrators 'Breached' Accords

LD1005103893 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0830 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] The atmosphere surrounding the Victory Day celebrations in the capital was generally calm, but it took

considerable efforts by the Moscow authorities to keep it that way, said Vasiliy Shakhnovskiy, head of administration of the Moscow mayor's office, to an ITAR-TASS correspondent. This was primarily because of the actions of the organizers of the rally on Triumfalnaya Square in which the Union of Officers and opposition deputies took part. All the understandings which the mayor's office reached beforehand with the rally organizers were breached by heroes of the post-war generation who joined in, Vasiliy Shakhnovskiy stressed.

Not content with making political speeches which were barely in tune with the glory celebrations, the organizers dispatched a column of demonstrators numbering, according to militia estimates, 15-20,000 people. Armed with megaphones, they moved down Tverskaya Street toward the Manezh and the Kremlin. After laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, the organizers, with demonstrators in tow, and in breach of all accords, headed on to Red Square; there, having scared away peacefully strolling Muscovites they organized a rally under the banner of the National Salvation Front.

The fact that the city authorities did not prevent the offenders from the Union of Officers and the National Salvation Front should by no means be seen as a sign of weakness on the part of the authorities, Vasiliy Shakhnovskiy commented. The mayor's office and the forces of law and order were guided by the sole desire at all costs to avoid darkening this genuinely bright day, the glorious Victory Day holiday, but the complete disregard of law and order by this group of demonstrators was noted by many Muscovites and veterans who tried to get away from the excited representatives of the national patriots.

One can point out again, the spokesman for the mayor's office declared, that one simply cannot come to any understandings with such groups and their organizers. They operate according the principle of give them an inch and they will take a yard.

Incidentally, the official organizers of this demonstration—among whom was, for example, the chairman of the Union of Officers himself, Stanislav Terekhov—gave a solemn assurance beforehand that the demonstration would take place only within the established bounds. They must be called to account for a breach of an official understanding and disregard of law and order, the mayor's office spokesman pointed out.

The Moscow militia is now drawing up a written account of all breaches, he said; the Moscow mayor's office will very soon issue a statement on this.

Further Reportage on May Day Disturbances

Security Ministry Denies Claims

LD0705183193 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] The Russian Security Ministry has issued a statement in connection with the appearance of publications claiming, citing trustworthy sources, that the May Day battle in the vicinity of Gagarin Square was provoked by instructors of a special militia subunit, who were in disguise. The statement says that the dissemination of such information can be regarded as being aimed at exacerbating the situation in Moscow still further.

Yeltsin Gives Awards

LD0805064193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0600 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin has issued a decree on conferring Russian state awards on employees of the bodies of internal affairs of the city of Moscow. Forty-four people have been awarded the Order of Personal Courage for showing courage and selflessness while maintaining public order on 1 May 1993, 39 people have been given a medal for outstanding service in maintaining public order, and 28 people have been awarded the medal for Defender of a Free Russia.

Rioters Said 'Paid for Clashing'

MK0805091493 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 8 May 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Hold the Front Page": "Paychecks for Blood at May Day Demonstration"]

[Text] Vladimir Dashkevich, chairman of the Moscow Composers Union, revealed at a "roundtable" of democratic intelligentsia of the capital city that participants in the May Day mass riots had been paid for clashing with the militia.

Rank-and-file toughs were paid 30,000 rubles each, commanders of groups of 10 got 50,000 each, and detachment commanders received 100,000 each. According to INTERFAX information, V. Dashkevich received these data from the Union of Cossack Troops of Russia. The "roundtable" address to the president stressed that the intelligentsia thought it necessary to put an end to the activities of all parties that seek to rely on violent methods.

Political Issues

Filatov Says Rutskoy, Khasbulatov Should Resign

LD0805121193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Considering the outcome of the referendum, the whole structure of the presidential apparatus should today consist of supporters of the reforms, Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's apparatus, has told an ITAR-TASS correspondent.

Speaking about [Vice President] Aleksandr Rutskoy, Sergey Filatov said that following the failure of their attempts to seize power, it would be more honorable for

him and for Ruslan Khasbulatov to resign, and that society could only gain from this.

In Sergey Filatov's opinion, on the whole the recent reshuffle of the government united the president's team and pointed it toward carrying out the reforms more resolutely. He also assesses as a positive movement the possibility of the return of Yegor Gaydar to the Council of Ministers. At the same time, Sergey Filatov did not rule out the possibility of the resignation of Deputy Prime Minister Georgiy Khizha, adding that democratic unification requires this of the president.

Filatov Blames Supreme Soviet for Sowing 'Fear'

LD0805132293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0700 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] On the eve of Victory Day, Sergey Filatov, chief of staff to the Russian president, has bitterly acknowledged that the opposition's objective has been partially attained: Fear of the extremists has been sown throughout society.

Sergey Filatov noted that today, during the requiem beside the grave of Vladimir Tolokneyev of the OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment], a war invalid spoke to Boris Yeltsin and said that he was afraid to go to Poklonnaya hill [site of 9 May Victory Day festivities]. In Sergey Filatov's view, that feeling of fear in society was originally generated by the Supreme Soviet. He said: A year ago, few people believed that the atmosphere of confrontation against the president would spread from parliament to a section of society; now such a situation exists.

Filatov Calls For Reform Supporters on Yeltsin's Staff

LD0705160193 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1430 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Commenting on Yeltsin's television address yesterday to his fellow citizens, Sergey Filatov, head of the Russian president's administration, dwelt on the problem of reviewing cadre policy, which was mentioned by the president. In Sergey Filatov's opinion, the entire structure of the president's staff should, in view of the outcome of the referendum, consist exclusively of supporters of reforms. From this viewpoint Yuriy Skokov, secretary of the Security Council, does not support the president on many stances. Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy will, in his opinion, remain a nominal member of the Security Council, although he has no personal assignments from the president. On the whole, Sergey Filatov feels the recent changes in government have welded the president's team together and directed it toward a more resolute pursuance of reforms.

Yeltsin Thanks Democratic Organizations on Referendum

LD0805145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1415 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Moscow, 8 May (ITAR-TASS)—"We were together and that is why we won"—President Yeltsin said this in a telegram to the headquarters of the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia for the preparation of the referendum. "Now the victory at the referendum should be consolidated. Therefore, I hope the unity of the democratic forces will be preserved in the future. It is vital for Russia."

In the telegram circulated by the presidential press service today, Boris Yeltsin congratulated activists, members of parties, movements, trade unions, and creative unions, members of the Public Committee of Democratic Organizations of Russia "on a remarkable success achieved by the democratic forces at the Russia-wide referendum of 25 April 1993." He expressed his deep gratitude to everyone who "by his tireless and selfish work has guaranteed this success."

Skokov Reportedly To Be Released From Post

LD0805173093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 8 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today the NEGA agency affirms, quoting confidential sources, that a decision has been made to release Yuriy Skokov from his post of security council secretary, though an appropriate decree has not yet been signed. The NEGA agency maintains that Sergey Stepashin, current chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet committee on defense and security issues, will be appointed to this post.

Implications of 'Resignation' Viewed

MK0805103693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 92 p 1

[Report by Savva Bezopasnov, independent political scientist: "Skokov's Resignation Is a Foregone Conclusion. President Drastically Changes His Inner Circle"]

[Text] According to reports from people close to the president's inner circle, Boris Yeltsin has signed an edict on Yuriy Skokov's resignation from the post of secretary of the Security Council. It is expected that the document will be made public 10 May.

Skokov as a political figure has attracted the attention of many people: Yeltsin's ally from the very outset of the would-be first Russian president's post-communist career, an authority in the "power" structures and in the military-industrial sector, he clearly belonged to those who did not waste words (which earned him the reputation of "a silent man," "a mysterious" and "behind-the-scenes" figure among journalists), but instead

devoted all his efforts to creating a new Russian state. However he may have been labeled, whatever political colors may have been ascribed to him, hardly any serious analyst could fail to realize that the predominant colors of his actions and intentions were those of a strong state advocate and that they had no hues of loyalty to any party, to say nothing of political groupings. The interests of an individual, society, the state—these are the criteria that Skokov called decisive in his activity. Many people remember his words addressed to the deputies at the Ninth Congress: There is no power crisis in Russia, but there is a crisis of statehood. To all appearances, Skokov deemed the president's intention to introduce something close to emergency rule last March to be an integral part of this crisis. At that time, Skokov harshly and resolutely denounced the action. There is no reason to dismiss the theory that the stance taken by the principled strong state advocate backfired on him when the president, while purging moderates and centrists around him, opted for joining the side of radicalism and hard-line democrats.

Boris Yeltsin's popularity is great and unquestionable, but starting from August of 1991 it has become a recurrent pattern that the president gets rid of those, including even like-minded people, who acquire too much clout in society and politics. The high number of points scored by Yuriy Skokov when Russian people's deputies voted on candidates to the prime ministership confirmed that the country could have acquired an independently minded, nonpartisan, and politically strong head of government. All this may be just "personal preferences" and the product of idle imagination and political fortune telling, but nonetheless this reasoning should not be counted out.

President Yeltsin's course has taken clear shape, his retinue is now uniform in terms of personnel policy principles and party affiliation. Some people associate radical democracy with the possible establishment of an authoritarian regime in Russia on the basis (or rather regardless) of any of the proposed Constitutions. Theoretically, the possibility of an authoritarian regime is inherent in any situation, along with the most likely possibility that the hobbyhorse of authoritarianism will be finally pushed aside by his extremist loyalists. Especially so if he loses support in the center.

Rutskoy Criticizes Reforms, Yeltsin

MK0805111193 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 pp 1, 2

[Article by Russian Federation Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, published under the "Position" rubric: "Vice President Sticks to His Guns: 'The Promissory Notes Handed out by the Government Prior to the Referendum Will Have To Be Repaid. But How, if not With Printing Presses?'"]

[Text] Hanging above the main streets of Moscow not so long ago were tightly stretched banners with the slogan: "25 April 1993—a New Start for Russia!" Where to? Now that the final results of the referendum have been assessed, there is good reason to consider seriously just how this vociferous slogan is substantiated from the political and economic points of view.

I shall start off with politics. The euphoria over the figures obtained at the referendum is beginning to pass, and increasingly through the "triumph" articles the idea is beginning to force its way to the surface that the referendum was not the kind of political and moral action that would finally allow Russian society to take a new step in its democratic development. Actually, Civic Union and the centrist forces affiliated with it predicted this outcome earlier, since with all the polarization of society, with all the duping of the populace on the approach to the referendum via the numerous mass media sources, primarily television, a fairly substantial part of the population has demonstrated a much greater realism in understanding the ongoing developments than the rightist and leftist forces would like them to.

The main conclusion that could be drawn from the referendum results is that society is beginning to get really tired of upheavals and various "shocks," from whoever they might originate. The Russian people are increasingly displaying commitment to the idea of stability and rationality of the entire system of transformations in the country, insisting that the process of reforms truly have a socially oriented character, geared toward all strata of society and not confined to particular "chosen" strata and regions.

Actually, this is what I have been saying recently, seeking to prove it in my speeches and publications, for which, at this point, the president himself has branded me with the label of "market opponent" and "anti-reformer." True, one thing is strange—today he himself is never tired of repeating the words: "socially oriented," "consistent," "decisive," and so forth. It is rather funny to hear all this after a year of missed opportunities.

After all, one cannot possibly ignore the fact that the government's economic policy, distanced from the solution of social problems, has not received the support of more than half the country's regions, while the president, although he was very generous in handing out promises, failed to get even 50 percent of the turnout in 26 components of the Federation.

If the fact that over 50 percent of the population voted against or did not go to the polls at all gives the right, according to the radical democrats, to declare this part of Russian citizens enemies of reforms and brand them "red-browns," I can only assess this approach as reckless political adventurism and an indication of the intention to start once again persecuting the people.

Therefore one could probably draw the conclusion that the referendum has not fulfilled its task—it has failed to become a bridge toward creating an atmosphere of national accord in Russian society. Moreover, the 1 May events, the tragedy, obviously provoked not only by the

opposition but also by the ruling authorities themselves, point to the growing danger of manifestations of extreme approaches in political activity. Like many other people, I am concerned over many questions: Who did the people that came to the demonstration bother? Would the tragedy have occurred if they had been allowed to move peacefully from Leninskiy Prospect on to the Sparrow Hills? Who will answer for the killing of an OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] officer and the maimed citizens? What did this tragedy give society?

Naturally, the growing tension cannot be conducive either to political or to socioeconomic stability. Judging by the referendum results, society may find itself in a situation where the interests of its majority will be finally betrayed and suppressed in the interests of a minority. This has already happened in our history and it is with profound anxiety that I am observing newer and newer symptoms of the political confrontation that exploded Russia in 1917.

A case in point is the intensifying campaign to divide society into "reds" and "whites," into "ours" and "outsiders." They are beginning to move from rhetoric to action. None other than V. Shumeyko, first deputy chairman of the government, is openly calling for a "witch hunt" in the government apparatus, declaring the need to purge it from the red-brown nomenklatura standing in the way of the reforms. (Judging from his latest statements, one gets the impression that Shumeyko has been a zealous anticommunist and advocate of democracy since his childhood days). The following slogan is being proclaimed: "Those who have worked in the CPSU Central Committee, in the USSR Council of Ministers, and in the apparatus of President M.S. Gorbachev are enemies of the reforms and they must be gotten rid of."

Is this not reminiscent, dear readers, of the famous Bolshevik reprisals in the Russian state apparatus in 1917-1918 and also the purges in Hitler's Germany. It is not clear just what Shumeyko is going to do with V. Chernomyrdin and O. Soskovets, who have worked in the USSR Government; with his current colleagues O. Lobov, who worked as second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee; and B. Fedorov, former employee of the CPSU Central Committee economic department. Or maybe he will start with his own secretariat headed by Ye. Verbitskiy, former official of the Komsomol Central Committee? Or order A. Zaveryukha to get rid of N. Dolgushkin, chief of his secretariat, a former secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee and official in the CPSU Central Committee? I would like to recall in this connection that all purges of this kind in our history have invariably led to only one result—a state of chaos, confrontation, ubiquitous suspiciousness, and denunciations. Moreover, why blame people who used to be members of the CPSU—there are millions of them. Even a candidate member of the CPSU Politburo, who has devotedly served Marxism-Leninism for over 30 years and enjoyed all the privileges of the party top nomenklatura, now a fervent anticommunist, is innocent. I strongly doubt that the referendum has given anyone in the government a mandate for such actions.

It can only be said that the government should above all work to deal with economic problems, address questions of the social protection of the population, a substantial part of which has been pushed below the poverty line, and not to engage in intrigues and act in the role of the exponent of a "new victorious" ideology.

Another sign of the past that is causing me concern is the formation of an effective dual system of power. This is evident from the situation that has now arisen in Mordovia where this kind of dual power situation has actually been formalized organizationally and received a blessing from Moscow. A basically analogous situation can be observed in Chelyabinsk Oblast following the election of the head of administration there. In a whole number of regions in the country a similar conflict is in the offing. One must be fully aware that with this state of things there can be no talk about any serious political and economic transformations, while the inept actions from the center can only intensify the centrifugal tendencies. Recently we all saw a shining example of political and legal deceit on the part of Vice Premier S. Shakhray, who was hastily sent to Mordovia.

Yet the most dangerous element of the oncoming system of dual power is, in my opinion, the situation that is developing today with the new constitution of the Russian Federation.

The sneaky appearance of the so-called presidential draft constitution, many of whose provisions are rather reminiscent of a monarchical code, actually blows up the normal constitutional process and places the country in a fairly complicated situation. It is an open secret to everybody that attempts are being made to use this draft to undo the results of the work of the Constitutional Commission headed by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin himself, which was set up by a resolution of the Congress of People's Deputies and has accomplished substantial work, including work with the Russian Federation's components.

A draft is being foisted on the people that has no legitimate mechanism for implementation, which from the outset presupposes that it will be "pushed through by force." Once again a campaign is getting under way to bamboozle the people, without discrimination as to the methods used, while declarations are being made about a "popular mandate" to adopt precisely this draft constitution (although prior to the referendum no one had seen it). The underlying idea is simple—to move over to effective dictatorship, virtually unlimited monarchy, with the aim finally to seize power and evade legal responsibility before the people for the disintegration of the great state. Those who have doubts about the disintegration and the deplorable situation I refer to the data published in BUSINESS MN No. 19 on page 15. In

terms of reliability indicators the reformers have "rolled back" Russia to the 149th place in the world, with just 14 points separating us from Somalia.

I would like to say only one thing in this connection: No law, enacted through deception and violence, let alone the country's basic law—the constitution—will work. This is why I regard it as a fairly serious danger that the constitutional process in the form that the democratic radicals are trying to interpret it after the referendum may become yet another factor deepening the process of destruction of Russian statehood, dooming the people to more suffering and bloodshed.

No referendum has given or can give the officials the mandate to adopt the constitution, even if these officials arrive at the so-called constitutional assembly not from the Kremlin offices but from the Federation's components, where many of them have received their positions by the "monarch's grace." Because they have not received a mandate of trust from the country's populace or the right to speak on its behalf and represent its interests, in contrast for example to the people's deputies of Russia, soviets at various levels, and those heads of administrations who were elected in the past month by popular vote.

I can see that the authors of this draft are trying, as far as possible, to avoid a nationwide discussion of the Constitution, well understanding that in the form that it has now been presented this draft cannot be supported either by the deputy corps at various levels or by many components of the Federation, primarily the republics that are part of the Russian Federation. And the first signs of this are already in evidence.

The political situation in the country can only get worse if both branches of power do not, in spite of the referendum results, finally decide to confirm their legitimacy by holding general simultaneous elections at the end of 1993.

Especially given that many, unlike the seriously bankrupted "democratic" reformers, understand that another six months of politicization of society, six months of stealing and pilfering the people's wealth, six months of new economic laboratory experiments may finally bring Russia down to the level of the poorest Third World countries. Statistics indicate directly that the 1992 experiments on many counts have thrown us back 10 years and now there is a real threat that this fall will continue.

If this cynical power struggle continues, if the proclaimed decisiveness of action in fighting crime and inflation continues to proceed against the backdrop of empty rhetoric; if the flow of populist edicts and decrees, unbacked by economic calculations, continues; if the granting of unmerited ranks and titles for personal loyalty continues, then within a few months the people will understand that they have again been deceived. Those who have any doubts I advise to read carefully presidential edict No. 1, devoted to the development of science and education, and compare it with what has actually been done. For the benefit of those would not bother to read it, I shall say: Virtually nothing has been done. It is clear to everybody: behind the deception there is only one thing—loss of faith, a deepening division in society.

The referendum and the campaign preceding it have yet another side which the mass media are trying to bypass in their analysis. It is the country's economic situation and its future in the light of those generous gestures that were made by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin and the government. The fact is that the cost of the package of promises may reach an aggregate almost 10 trillion rubles, which, it will be recalled, constitutes three-fourths of our annual gross national product.

The promissory notes handed out before the referendum will have to be paid in order to try to preserve the present level of public disinformation in the country and have the populace believe that the crisis in the country has been overcome. One thing, though, is not clear: How, except with printing presses, is the government going to raise these trillions? Especially in view of the fact that many of the figures involved—new wage levels, pensions, student grants—will literally in a month be recalled with black humor (just like the previous promises in comparison with the slowly growing incomes and the galloping inflation and crazy price increases).

It is perfectly obvious that the post-referendum operation of the money printing press will cause a new growth of inflation, which will be increasingly difficult to stop. It is no accident that one of the first economic reactions to these promises has been a new fall in the exchange rate of the national currency. This, in turn, is bound to lead to a fall in imports and a rise in costs inside the country, as well as the increased export of raw materials from the Russian Federation.

Naturally, the government hopes that its bills will be paid by the world's most developed countries, which have promised yet again to render Russia assistance, this time worth over $43 billion. It should be recalled, however, that according to Western expert estimates, including the IMF, Russia will be needing such a sum annually for at least another four years. Therefore one cannot really expect that this still mythical aid will change the Russian economy.

Naturally, the echo of the referendum will continue to resonate in the country's political and economic life for a long time to come, and in the hands of the advocates of yet another "big leap" the figures obtained will be blurring by like a juggler's balls to substantiate the "popularly approved course." Such a trend has been observed in recent days.

Let us hope, however, that the euphoria of an illusory victory among the various political parties and within the state structures will not to lead to such economic and political implications that will deal an irreparable blow to Russian statehood and the interests of each Russian citizen.

Yeltsin Thanks Cultural Figures for Referendum Support

LD0805105293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Moscow May 8 TASS—The Russian president regards people's vote of confidence and support for the reform policy at the April 25 referendum "as the direct instruction to advance resolutely along the path of democracy and transformations," says a message of President Yeltsin, sent by him to the cultural personalities who took an active part in the preparation of the referendum.

"The referendum did take place, and the democratic forces achieved a remarkable success. Much credit for it goes to you—writers, poets, actors and musicians, all intellectuals representing art and culture, who toured the country, gave free concerts, organised reports and held meetings with the public. Your influencial opinion, you active stand helped russians make their choice," the message said.

"Let us continue to stick together, because the recent referendum was probably not the last trial of the civil and political maturity, as well as good organisation, for the democratic forces," Yeltsin stressed in his message.

Yeltsin Leadership Style Likened to Stalin

PM0705181693 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 May 93 p 2

[Viktor Maslinin article: "You Understand All the Sciences..."]

[Text] The president, singing his own praises, has stressed on more than one occasion that in all his student years he had "excellent" grades. Incidentally, when was this? At the very beginning of the fifties, so he learned about society from the "Short Course in History, All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" and he learned it so well that no perestroykas could separate him from those muscular Stalinist ideas.

Thus, in his 6 May television appearance the president made an outstanding contribution to historical science by putting forward a thesis that is beyond doubt: "The date 25 April will go down in Russia's history." Furthermore, the thesis was well-argued: First, for the first time in world history a vote of confidence in the authorities was carried out at the height of a crisis (almost like in 1937 with the USSR Supreme Soviet); second, "Russians want radical changes" (in the old days revolutionary changes were preferred); third, "the main result is support for the president and his policy." If the voters express confidence, the leader [vozhd] can take pride in the people and so B. Yeltsin does: "I am proud that our people have made this choice... This is a truly great choice by a great people."

A certain poet addressed a certain leader: "You are a great scientist. You understand all the sciences." So let us move from history to political science. Here there were staggering revelations on 6 May. The man who has held the reins of Russian state power in his hands for three years is confident, and assures others, that "it was the desire to put an end to anarchy that brought the people to the referendum." No one who attempts to combine theory with practical politics would ever imagine such a thing—for a ruler to pass off as an achievement three years of anarchy while he himself was in power!

In making this great breakthrough in political science, B. Yeltsin wisely linked innovation and tradition. It is well known that the keynote speaker at the 18th party congress, which was held shortly after elections, affirmed that the election results reflected the people's demand for more resolute action against all kinds of rightist-leftist deviationists. More than half a century later, at a new turn in history, the bold conclusion rang out anew: "I regard the confidence expressed in the referendum as your demand for more resolute action." Only the rightist-leftist deviationists are now called the left- and right-wing opposition.

The traditions of the 17th party congress, held nearly 60 years ago, also live on. At that congress the leader, addressing the uncooperative delegates (Bukharin, Tomskiy, and such like), urged them to define their attitude toward the general line, or else... Today the concept of the "general line" is not in fashion. So the resurrected demand is updated: "It is time the deputies defined their position: Do they reject the people's choice, or will they support the president's course... Their political future will depend on it."

The present president is a democrat from his head to his toes, therefore collegiality naturally looks to him like a totalitarian plot. His words ring out like a hymn to democracy: "I have lost confidence in Rutskoy and relieved him of all missions."

Leaders [vozhdi] are also great experts in statistics. One of them, it is said, ingeniously contrived to fulfill five-year plans in four years with the help of colossal labor with figures. Another has successfully solved an equally complex problem: Despite the Central Electoral Commission's report that 46 million out of 107 million voters voted for early elections of people's deputies, he confidently defends the thesis that in 87 out of 90 electoral districts in Russia, the majority came out in favor of new elections of deputies.

But the leaders' favorite sphere of activity is composing constitutions. And here things are proceeding at an unprecedented rate of acceleration. Stalin's Constitution was preceded by 14 years of Stalin's supreme leadership, Yeltsin's by two years of his presidency. Boris Nikolayevich embraces Gorbachev's acceleration slogan with open arms: "Work on the new Constitution must not be dragged out." And a time scale is set, far tougher than for collectivization in the northern Caucasus. With the same precision as the prewar five-day plans. The draft was

distributed to the components of the Federation on 30 April. Four five-day periods for the components to study it. And not later than the fall—new elections.

This passion for jurisprudence is not confined to matters of the Fundamental Law and state building. Following in [fictional rogue] Ostap Bender's footsteps, the president is interested in the Criminal Code. And he concludes: "Judicial proceedings should be quick and concentrated." Even in theory, it is impossible to invent anything more concentrated than Stalin's "troika."

There used to be another science, too. It was called party building. The name has now been lost. But builders without building are inconceivable, yet Boris Yeltsin graduated from the building faculty. That was when he learned "cadres decide everything," "no people—no problems," and so forth. And this spring the seed sown so long ago has sprouted: "Those who do not support our course should simply go." And if they do not want to go quite so simply, the OMON [special-purpose militia detachment] will lend a hand.

Alas, there are plenty of unfortunate analogies with the past. All the same, Yeltsin is not Stalin—yet. He is not on that scale. The destroyer-president resembles the creator-captain only in his passion for personal dictatorship.

Yeltsin on Preparation of New Constitution

LD0905103293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin reported today that on the basis of the 25 April referendum results, a package of documents has been prepared that will be signed immediately after the holidays are over. The documents are concerned with the speeding up of reforms as well as political issues. But the main thing is the new constitution.

At the moment, the presidential draft of the constitution is being studied at the local level. A working group will be convened on 11 May to hold a preliminary discussion of comments and suggestions made about the draft. Suggestions are being accepted until 20 May. After that, they will be reviewed and the draft constitution should be ready by 1 June.

Boris Yeltsin noted that a number of regions that have already studied the draft believe it is good and well-researched. The draft includes some of the long-awaited statutes—on the Federation treaty, presidential rule, and human rights.

Free Russia Party Supports Draft Constitution

LD0705165093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] The citizens of Russia have spoken in favor of carrying on reforms and have in fact bound their elected representatives to find some form of constructive interaction within the framework of this policy. This idea was voiced by the participants in a sitting of the board of the People's Party of Free Russia, which was held today. They have made public a document which says that a new basic law, adopted on a democratic and legitimate basis, could become a foundation for the consolidation of society.

In connection with this, the governing board of the party calls upon people's deputies to pay special attention to the president's initiatives concerning the constitution. The board of the People's Party of Free Russia believes that it is the new constitution that should become the basis for renewal of the power system, without which it would be impossible to continue reforms successfully.

Reform Activist Finds Constitution Inadequate

MK0705092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 93 p 2

[Article by Academician Stanislav Shatalin, Reform Foundation president, published under "Carte Blanche" rubric: "From April to October. The Game Has Been Postponed With Minimal Advantage for the President"]

[Text] The referendum has been held. The terrible time pressure under which everybody was making gross mistakes has ended, and now one can more calmly appraise the situation on the political playing field of Russia.

I do not see the slightest reason for abandoning my evaluation of the referendum as an absolutely senseless and harmful political procedure. Although, thank God, it has not yet caused irreparable damage to Russian society. Fortunately for Russia and its president and parliament, the people once again have proved to be wiser than their rulers (I have spoken about this on many occasions), and we must all take off our hats to them. The ruling politicians, however, must finally understand that this is the last time (although it sometimes seems that our wonderful people are capable of bearing even more than "whatever God wills to send along"), especially given that all is not well with hats in Russia either. Now the most important thing is not to yield to temptation and not to get drowned once again in a sea of illusions.

Let me state a few considerations:

1. A majority of our politicians, political scientists, and journalists believe that the high turnout of the Russian populace in the referendum corresponds well to world and European standards. I recommend that we not compare apples and oranges. "Their" people do not go to the polls because they rightfully suppose: In any event everything will be all right. What do the Americans care about who their president will be? A communist at any rate will not be chosen, and it is only communists who are capable of destroying even the U.S. economy within four years in power. In Russia only those, who in their majority approve of government policy, go to the polls.

Of course, this analysis merely scratches the surface, but our historical experience provides many grounds for such a conclusion.

2. Many were surprised that 53 percent of the turnout in Russia voted to approve of the economic policy pursued by the president and the government since early 1992. Yet there is nothing surprising about it. First, an overwhelming majority of those who stayed away from the referendum—as mathematicians would say—by definition do not approve of this policy. And even those who do approve know that this policy will continue in any case. Second, such people—as for example, your humble servant—had neither the political nor the moral right to say "no" to the second question. Although being an academician-secretary of the economics division of the Russian Academy of Sciences and president of the international Reform Foundation, I do not agree either with the strategy or the tactics of pursuing economic reform. True, it would be more accurate to say that today the government has neither. But my "no" could be construed by many political forces of various colors of the rainbow in the sense that I am against private ownership, free enterprise, radical agrarian reform, and so forth. Yet all of this is absolutely vital, like air. Third, our wise and patient people draw lessons from history and it is increasingly difficult to tempt them with promises from communist fundamentalists and dyed-in-the-wool nationalists; the people are learning to differentiate God from the demon, to choose a lesser evil. The world has long understood this, and we are gradually learning. It would be treachery pure and simple to abuse the people's trust once again. Based on common sense and responsibility, our president, without seeking any justification from anybody and without citing any circumstances, must finally respond with trust to the people's trust.

3. The main task for the president and for all who want really democratic, peaceful development for Russia in the political sphere and in the evolution of the state structure is to ensure the speedy adoption of a stable constitution, for which purpose it is necessary to form immediately a constituent or constitutional assembly. This problem has been widely discussed in Russian society, but now it can be assumed as an axiom that this is the only way of cutting the Gordian knot of the constitutional and political power crisis. The Reform Foundation has analyzed the presidential draft constitution of the Russian Federation. Its results will be published within the next few days but I shall say directly that we regard it as inadequate, to put it mildly. True, to be frank, I—and not only I alone—simply cannot understand the statements of our politicians, who, moreover, have received legal training: Why would the present deputy corps after the referendum not have a right to adopt a new basic law while the president and the Federation's components have acquired elements (?) [question mark as published] of the authority to draw up a new constitution. And what sort of authority is this?

4. A majority of experts and politicians in the executive and legislative branches maintain that the referendum has removed the problem of early elections of the president and the people's deputies. This, however—excuse me for using a harsh expression—is elementary political thoughtlessness. Does the adoption of a new Constitution not mean an automatic, legitimate termination of the activity of the institution of the Congress and the Supreme Soviet? And if the adopted Constitution does not provide for the institution of the presidency, what is to be done then? Even if it does, are the requirements for the president of an independent, sovereign country the same as for the president of a republic that used to be part of another country? Of course, different. A "real" president must understand what the country's geopolitical, foreign policy, and defense doctrines are all about. And what use would a "republican" president have for all this? Please understand me, I am not talking about the personal qualities of any particular individual, but about the country's supreme interests. Therefore—that is, of course, if we do not want merely to appear but actually to be a democratic country—in October there will be elections both of the country's president and its new parliament.

For the current president of Russia, the highest act of statesmanship would be to accept what I described earlier as a political axiom. All other options mean the continuation of political squabbles, the erosion of the Federation (and the referendum made its contribution to that), and an inevitable catastrophe. I regard as a big mistake the mere fact that there is a "presidential" draft constitution. This places the president and all the people of Russia in a fairly ambiguous position. Only monarchs hand down constitutions to their people. I would like to be understood correctly here as well: I am far from opposed to constitutional monarchy as a form of government. I am only afraid that if we cannot form a constituent assembly, it would be even more difficult to convene a zemskiy sobor [assembly of the land, prerevolutionary system of government].

5. I am convinced that the president and the government understand that the people have approved the policy of transition to a socially oriented market economy, which should harmoniously combine economic effectiveness and social justice, fighting hyperinflation, recession, and unemployment. The government in its present composition cannot deal with this problem. Professionals and only professionals are needed, who are also at least part politician as well.

6. Russia is going through hard times. But this too will pass. It is only necessary to minimize the negative consequences of the Russian tendency to let the chips fall were they may (it will never be possible to eliminate them completely), and it is also necessary for them to stop consuming the basis of their own future well-being, as far as possible.

Government Session on Companies, Land Payments Detailed

PM0705152393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko: "Russian Federation Government Presidium: Land Has To Be Paid For"]

[Text] The latest session of the Russian Federation Government Presidium, held on 6 May, with first vice premier V. Shumeyko in the chair, was entirely devoted not to the traditional theme, which might be described as what is being done and what is to be done with the economy, but to setting standards.

P. Mostovoy, representing the State Property Committee, submitted a draft law on joint-stock companies. The speaker said it needed to be adopted because the existing provision regulating the procedure for creating joint-stock companies contains many contradictions. This, in turn, is giving rise to a multitude of offenses. Abuses are occurring both on the part of the power structures and on the part of the stockholders themselves. The draft law is meant to resolve this problem. It clearly establishes two types of joint-stock companies—closed and open—and explains what they are. The draft law on joint-stock companies envisages the creation of equal price terms for the flotation of enterprises of any type.

After a prolonged debate the Government Presidium approved the draft law. It will be submitted to the Supreme Soviet in a few days' time.

The session also examined a draft law on payment for land, which will certainly be of interest to most Russian citizens. The document says that land use in Russia is to be paid for. Land must be paid for because all past practice of land utilization demonstrates the need for levers to influence those who actually own the land and for the use of funds from land payments for general state needs.

The basic rate of the land tax on agricultural and other land is to be established, according to the draft law, by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and the standard price is to be set by the government. Republics' Supreme Soviets and local soviets can make adjustments to the standard price for land depending on the valuation data for a particular area of pasture, and so on. Rural and settlement soviets are also entitled to raise the land tax rates, but not by more than 200 percent. Rate-boosting coefficients are also envisaged to determine the real price of land in resorts and suburbs.

The draft law exempts the following bodies and individuals from payment of the land tax:

—nature reserves, national parks, and forest parks;
—state authorities and law-enforcement bodies (we are referring to land on which they carry out their main work);
—border forces (land on which they are stationed, and also the plowed strip along the border);
—Heroes of the Soviet Union, Heroes of the Russian Federation, and holders of the full Order of Glory;
—Great Patriotic War veterans;
—invalids;
—citizens organizing peasant (private) farms for the first time; for a period of five years from the time they are granted the land;
—citizens affected by the Chernobyl accident or other similar accidents;
—servicemen who have been discharged with more than 20 years' service.

The plan is to use the money from the land tax to set up a unified system of nonbudget funds, the aim being to compile a national register and to monitor land in Russia. In other words, ultimately to assess the state of every plot of land in Russia and its real value, which has never been done before. The Government Presidium also examined provisions on a number of ministries and departments, the question of the pay fund for federal executive authority bodies, and other matters.

More on Council of Ministers Session

PM0705153593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 93 First Edition p 1

[ITAR-TASS report: "Joint-Stock Companies To Get Their Own Law"]

[Text] At a Staraya Ploshchad session chaired by First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko the Russian Council of Ministers Presidium yesterday approved the bill "On Joint-Stock Companies" and adopted a decision to submit it to the Supreme Soviet after a week's more work.

As Petr Mostovoy, first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property, stated in presenting the bill, the adoption of this law is "long overdue," since the activities of the numerous joint-stock companies which have been set up in Russia remain legally unregulated. He also noted that the bill deliberately excludes questions relating to the circulation of securities. A separate bill will be drawn up on this issue, Petr Mostovoy reported.

The bill "regulates questions of the creation, activity, and closure of joint-stock companies on Russian Federation territory, and lays down guarantees, procedures, and conditions for the protection of the legitimate interests of shareholders, creditors, and third parties from unscrupulous actions by joint-stock companies' founders and other officials," the preamble to the document states. This act will introduce to Russian law a number of new norms which should extend to all types of joint-stock companies, irrespective of their type of activity or the composition of their shareholder register.

The members of the Council of Ministers Presidium also examined yesterday the bill "On Changes and Amendments to the RSFSR Law 'On Payment for Land.'" This law came into force 1 January 1992. The need for changes to it was prompted by a whole series of reasons—in particular, the coming into force of new laws, presidential edicts, and parliamentary decrees concerning the principles and methods of taxation. Moreover, price liberalization has fundamentally changed the situation under which—in 1990—the normatives of land taxation were calculated.

The law's new structure is a substantial improvement—the section "Payment for Land in Rural Areas" brings together articles regulating the taxation of agricultural land, land used by rural population centers, forests, and other groups of land outside cities and settlements. The section "Payment for Land in Cities and Settlements" brings together norms regulating payment for land in these territories. The former law's norms on mass exemption from tax for corporate bodies are also excluded. Another principle is proposed—the granting of concessions is placed within the purview of Federation components' organs of representative power. As well as the transfer of funds raised by the land tax to budgets at all levels, provision is made for setting up targeted state nonbudgetary land management funds using the monies obtained from leasing state and municipal land. The funds system will make it possible to channel a significant proportion of the monies raised from payment for land in cities into improving agricultural land. The draft also proposes ratifying the specified [utochnennyy] average level of tax on agricultural land for each republic, kray, oblast, and okrug.

Behind doors that were closed to journalists the members of the Council of Ministers Presidium examined other points on the session agenda—the transformation of the Russian Federation Committee for Municipal Services into the Russian Federation State Committee for Housing and Municipal Services; a government draft decree on wages funds for workers in the central apparatus and individual central federal executive organs, and the number of such workers; and provisions on the ministries of the press and information, foreign affairs, and transportation.

Women Urge Yeltsin To Ban Fascist, Communist Bodies

PM0705162993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 May 93 p 2

["Women's Appeal to Russian Federation President" dated Moscow, 5 May and supported by women participants in meeting of Moscow's democratic public]

[Text] Mr. President!

Fifty years have elapsed since the Great Patriotic War, and we have barely had time to give birth to a number of men equal to those who died on its fields. Today neocommunist provocateurs are threatening our sons with sharpened sticks [zatochki] and chains, which have always been a symbol of what you and we are today trying to rid ourselves of. We mothers, sisters, daughters, wives, and widows demand that you:

1. Proscribe the activity of all organizations of a profascist and neocommunist trend, regardless of their involvement in the May Day carnage;

2. Eliminate all places where thugs are formed and trained;

3. Propose that the Supreme Soviet session strip of their immunity as deputies all Russian Federation deputies who participated in the preparation and holding of the May Day march which ended in mass riots;

4. Entrust the prosecutor's office organs with instituting criminal proceedings against these deputies without delay and repeal the decision to alter the preventive restrictions on the accused members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency who participated in the 1 May demonstration;

5. In the event of a boycott by the Supreme Soviet, take decisive measures against the organizers and instigators of the riots, employ the right of decree, and issue a presidential edict dissolving the Supreme Soviet, which is aiding and abetting the kindling of civil war;

6. In the event of repeat mass riots on Victory Day, introduce a state of emergency in Moscow;

7. In the event of the spread of provocations around Russian territory, introduce direct presidential rule without delay.

Esteemed President! There is no way to create a civil society other than to foster in citizens respect and esteem for the law and law-abidingness. When children obey their parents, this does not mean that they are not free or are fettered by fear. It means that love and order reign in the home. We know this well and understand it as mothers.

[Dated] Moscow, 5 May 1993

[Signed] Marina Kudimova, Nataliya Nebylitskaya, Nina Katerli, Nadezhda Kondakova, Ksana Suvorova

Article Sees Yeltsin Success Likely in Political Events

MK0805104493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 2

[Vera Kuznetsova report under "Forecast" rubric: "President on Fresh Elections of People's Deputies. Perestroyka Kremlin-Style"]

[Text] The president is preparing a "draft normative act on elections to the federal parliament." Only this and the fact that the elections cannot be postponed until later than fall (Boris Yeltsin's 6 May television statement) were news.

So, the early elections. Which, according to Yeltsin, are to be of deputies only. And as quickly as possible. But what is the mechanism? First, the adoption of a new law on elections. Second, declaring early elections (although the required majority of registered voters was not obtained in the referendum to do this formally). Although it does seem that on the second question—on the elections' being early—Yeltsin will be able to find a compromise with the Supreme Soviet at the cost of declaring a new presidential election as well. The opposition have stated this repeatedly since right after the referendum. True, Vladimir Isakov, Supreme Soviet member and leader of Russian Unity, always adds one substantial detail here: "New elections under a new law, where voting will take place according to party lists. Plus the adoption of amendments to the constitution, or of a new Basic Law **in the prescribed manner, that is, through the Congress."** This is where a possible compromise between the president and the parliament opposing him fizzles out for the umpteenth time. While Yeltsin's plan—to adopt a new constitution, counting exclusively on the Federation's subjects—could, judging by the current situation, have slightly more than a 50-50 chance of working out. True, a great deal in the talks with the regions now depends on two people. Primarily on Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin (whose economic "stick and carrot" is an indispensable thing in politics). And also on the successor to Yuriy Skokov, former secretary of the Security Council and the Council of Heads of Republics. Were a man like Sergey Shakhray to step into this post, regional policy would possibly start to bring the president dividends at last. Especially if it (this policy) relies on bilateral relations and even includes their enshrinement in legislation. That is, right now the central executive branch holds its future in its own hands. Because the legislative branch cannot propose an alternative, apart from the prospect of preserving an ideological state in one form or another (centralist in structure), the executive branch's chances of "conquering" the regions (above all through the division of ownership) are great.

Media & Economic Issues

Press, Information Ministry Reportedly May Be Disbanded

LD0805203393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 May 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today we received a report from the Ekho Moskvy radio station, saying that the Russian Ministry of Press and Information is to be disbanded in the near future. In its place some kind of new department will be formed on the basis of the Federal Information Center and individual structures of the Ministry of Press and Information. It will be headed by Mikhail Poltoranin.

Journalists Protest Denial of Access to Parliament

MK0705120493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 7 May 93 p 9

[Valeriy Pogorelyy report: "Journalists Unhappy About Supreme Soviet Press Center's Decision. Parliamentary Correspondents Could Declare Boycott of Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] The Guild of Parliamentary Journalists has condemned the decision by Yuriy Marechenkov, leader of the parliamentary press service, to prohibit the admission of ITAR-TASS, RIA, and INTERFAX correspondents to Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions. Yesterday the guild circulated its statement, which accuses the press service leader of breaking the law "On the Mass Media" and warns Marechenkov that it could call on journalists to boycott the information disseminated by his service as "not corresponding to the facts."

Marechenkov, leader of the parliamentary press service, reported the decision to deny ITAR-TASS, RIA, and INTERFAX correspondents access to Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions on 5 May, formerly Press Day. This is his first act in the post he recently assumed. Explaining this step, Marechenkov said that the agencies' correspondents are "interpreting the questions being considered in the Presidium in their own way," and that he made this decision so that information would be "uniform." Only representatives of the press service and two television channels will be admitted to Supreme Soviet Presidium sessions.

The Guild of Parliamentary Journalists' statement expresses doubt that Marechenkov could decide to deny direct access to information "without the authority, if not the initiative, of Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Russian Supreme Soviet." The guild is linking this step with the referendum results. As the statement says, "after being defeated in the referendum the parliamentary opposition, led by the Supreme Soviet speaker, has not abandoned its attempts to become the last and only authority that decides what kind of information the state and independent mass media must content themselves with." Believing that Marechenkov's decision threatens freedom of the press, the guild is demanding that it be rescinded. Otherwise the guild reserves the right to call on journalists to "boycott the information supplied by the Supreme Soviet press center as not corresponding to the facts."

Chernomyrdin Outlines Economic Measures

LD0705173693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1600 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] A number of suggestions on how the country could get out of the present crisis was made by Chairman of the Russian Government Viktor Chernomyrdin in his interview to the VOSTOCHNYY EKSPRESS newspaper which was published today. In Chernomyrdin's words, in order to ease the pressure of stagflation the

government has developed a complex of measures to support investment activity which will include the easing of enterprises' tax burden—lowering the profit tax—until 1 June.

In the sphere of budget policy the government intends to develop a program of strict economy of budget funds, including cutbacks in various grants and allowances. Viktor Chernomyrdin stressed that today's government will continue its policy aimed at getting out of Russia's economic crisis. "The government will not sway either to the left or to the right," the head of the Russian Government concluded.

President Criticized for Scaling Down Social Programs

MK0605112893 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 19, 9 May 93 (signed to press 4 May) p B1

[Rustam Narzikulov article: "The Spring Flood of Populism Has Ended. Turns in the President's Socioeconomic Declarations Have Proven To Be Much Sharper Than Could Have Been Expected"]

[Text] BUSINESS MN (No. 17) noted prior to 25 April that the voters will themselves have to pay for Boris Yeltsin's pre-referendum promises and that the populace is actually performing the role of a political creditor. Even so, it was difficult to imagine that the president's team would not be content with returning to the voters the depreciated monetary resources and refuse even nominally to fulfill its promises.

On 29 April, after addressing an enlarged Council of Ministers session, Yeltsin proclaimed rejection of "irresponsible financing" of social and other programs in the interests of "our general financial stabilization." He was supported by Viktor Chernomyrdin, who insisted that "inflation must be curbed at any price." The meaning of these statements was spelled out by government experts involved in drawing up documents that come out of the Council of Ministers. In their opinion, "it has become politically possible to abandon economic populism," and "apparently, a number of social programs will have to be shelved."

Although no list of programs whose implementation is now becoming problematic has yet been determined, in all likelihood the minimum wage, salaries of employees at state sector organizations, and pensions will not be raised. Possibly, decisions will be implemented that have little effect on budget expenditures (for example, increasing grants for undergraduate and graduate students). In addition, the Council of Ministers session made a decision to reduce import subsidies. Agriculture and the coal industry will not get subsidies in full volume. Under these conditions it is also absurd to talk about indexing the deposits of Sberbank savings bank clients (therefore the experts said nothing about this), which calls for more funds than all the other pre-referendum projects.

The course for financial stabilization itself could only be welcomed if it existed outside the context of previous and would-be decisions of the executive branch. In this situation the extent of the toughness of financial and monetary policy would be subject to discussion. The results of the 29 April Council of Ministers session, however, cannot be called a "course" in the meaning that is associated with a set of political decisions arranged in a certain order, designed to implement a more or less coherent concept. There are no guarantees that by the time the parliament is "dissolved" (late May-early June) social programs will be reanimated and financial stabilization will be postponed pending the adoption of a new Constitution. Nor are there any guarantees that privileged electorate groups will change, and that support will be given to the directors of large state enterprises, as was the case under Gaydar prior to the December Congress session.

Neither will the president's economic policy be affected by the deputies' fate. If the present parliament is dissolved after all, the fluctuations of Yeltsin's "course" will depend on the correlation of forces within the government, whose structure following the appointment of the new vice premiers is becoming increasingly polarized. In this event everything will hinge on the extent of access to the president enjoyed by the main reformer—Boris Fedorov—and his ideological opponents (specialists on "the manageability of the economy"). If, however, the deputies manage to hold out, the president's decisions will be predicted even more accurately since over time they are acquiring a certain regularity. In any event a new surge of concern for the electorate is most likely to come in the fall.

Doubts Raised About Anti-Inflation Policy

MK0605110093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 19, 9 May 93 (signed to press 4 May) p A6

[Editorial comment under the rubric "Quote"]

[Text] "... Inflation should be crushed at any price..."

This resolute declaration by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin at a Council of Ministers session is not backed either by what is going on in the economy or what is going on inside the Council of Ministers. Also, serious doubts have arisen lately about which course the government intends to steer, and also about "who is who" in the government. The series of new appointments—in addition to Vladimir Shumeyko, two more first vice premiers were appointed, Oleg Lobov and Oleg Soskovets—sharply changes the structure of the cabinet rather than that of the national economy. Lobov is believed to have been nominated to his post on the president's initiative, following which the premier nominated Soskovets. Let political scientists rack their brains as to who nominated whom and why, but there is no mystery about the fact that neither of the two men is going to lay claim to the laurels of inflation fighter. The cabinet now contains a

whole constellation of vice premiers (Lobov, Soskovets, Zaveryukha, Khizha) who, coming as they do from different sectors of the economy, are ready to dump on it a whole pile of uncovered money, while Boris Fedorov is the only vice premier (not a first vice premier) obliged to step into the path of this turbulent stream to stem it. Given such a setup, he is more likely to be crushed than inflation.

In the meantime, the question of "who is who" is beginning to be asked not only about vice premiers, but also the premier. According to a FINANCIAL TIMES report, Yeltsin was discussing with Shumeyko the possibility of appointing the latter to the post of head of government instead of Chernomyrdin. Even if this is a rumor, one can imagine in which direction it might swing the level of inflation. If this is a fact, it is hard to imagine what Shumeyko would do, becoming premier, with, say, Lobov, also recognized by the president. In all this, only one thing is clear: The fight over cabinet seats and the fight against inflation are, as the bard said, incompatible.

Prospects of Gaydar's Comeback Viewed

MK0705123893 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No 14, 7 May 93 p 2 (signed to press 6 May)

[Mikhail Leontyev article published in "Cadre" rubric: "Gaydar's Return Only Possible to a Gaydar Government. So That He Will Not Be Used as a Figurehead"]

[Text] Reports about Yegor Gaydar's possible comeback to the government are circulating at the highest level. The idea that the victory in the referendum must naturally be complemented with Gaydar's reinstatement is taken for granted in international financial circles. The only person who is keeping proud silence in this situation is Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin. Which is also quite natural: It was in the approach to and immediately after the referendum that the premier, who had received a free hand from the president, took a few steps setting his economic course sharply apart from the policy of the "Gaydar team."

Chernomyrdin appointed as his first deputy Oleg Lobov, who makes no secret of his intention to take charge of the entire economic sphere in the government. Actually he was taken on precisely due to these intentions. It is almost impossible to imagine the appointment of Oleg Soskovets, former USSR metallurgy minister, without the premier's initiative. Moreover, having entrusted industrial policy to a representative of the "basic sector," Chernomyrdin caused his intentions to pursue any radical restructuring to be called into question.

Generally speaking, differences have emerged between the Gaydar course—even though it was seen as based on compromise—and the "Chernomyrdin line," which can well be described as political. All the measures and appointments, initiated and supported personally by Chernomyrdin, all the general talk about "increasing the manageability of the state sector," point to only one thing: The premier is placing his bet on the restoration of the role of the sectoral ministries.

As was already noted, after a brief spell of "monetarist liberalization" the Gaydar government "adjusted" its course toward the industrial generals, who are the best able to adapt themselves to reform. They not only received unheard-of freedom of action, but also a real chance to "win" privatization. Actually, herein lies the chance for the execution of Chubays' privatization program. And it is from this position that the industrial leaders are attacking the State Committee for Property Management, and not without the premier's blessing.

The first question that arises in any talk about Gaydar's comeback is—in what capacity? Thus far nothing has been said about the post of premier; otherwise why would it be necessary to negotiate with Chernomyrdin? The position of Central Bank chairman is being mentioned, especially given that in the approach to the referendum the president gave a direct indication to Viktor Gerashchenko about his bleak future.

Nonetheless, Gerashchenko could realistically be removed only if he is willing. It is very unlikely that parliament will accommodate the government in this respect. Gerashchenko, according to confidential reports, was ready to agree to a voluntary resignation only on a number of conditions. One of them was the right to choose a successor. For well known reasons current Finance Minister Boris Fedorov was absolutely ruled out, and a more likely candidacy was apparently to be chosen from among Gerashchenko's highly qualified colleagues in former Soviet foreign bank organizations. Therefore another option for Gaydar—Fedorov's present post—is not really open for him either.

Gaydar's return to the government even as just another first vice premier would be politically sensible if he could direct the entire macroeconomic policy, and not only what will remain of it after the "real sector," as it is called by the Central Bank leadership, has been spun off. The promised removal of Georgiy Khizha, with the present composition of the government, makes absolutely no difference. Gaydar's "co-vice-premiership" with Oleg Lobov, "the eggman," does not appear to be politically or practically feasible. In one and a half years of reform, Gaydar managed to become an independent political figure, even more independent after his resignation than before it. It is not clear why Yegor Gaydar should want to cover up the obvious degradation of the government's policy and composition. In his time Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, after refusing to execute somebody else's policy, possibly missed something in terms of his career, but kept himself a promising politician.

Gaydar's return to the government is possible only as the return of a Gaydar government. Otherwise the "Gaydarites" will run the risk of finally compromising not only themselves but also the reforms associated with their names.

'State Regulation' of Economy Viewed

PM0705082793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 5 May 93 First Edition pp 1-2

[Vladimir Sluzhakov commentary: "Government Picks Up the Reins"]

[Text] The Russian Government is continuing to consistently build up its positions in the state regulation of the economy. The draft government decree "On the Socio-economic Development of the Russian Federation in the First Quarter of This Year, Current Tasks, and Progress in Fulfilling the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government Action Plan to Implement Economic Reform in 1993" was disseminated at a 29 April enlarged session of the Council of Ministers-Government. This document appeared after two weeks, following Decree No. 306 "On State Selective Structural Policy in 1993," which in the heat of the campaign was noted only by specialists and assessed as a stimulus for centralized economic management and an attempt to "restore the bureaucratic economy."

Both these pieces of subordinate legislation reflect the contradictory views of the government and the incomplete nature of the struggle over the shaping of the Cabinet of Ministers. The need to change the tactics of implementing reform is recognized "in the light of the oversights committed in 1992." Preference is given to "balanced realistic decisions," the strengthening of the social thrust, the galvanization of anti-inflationary policy, and the enhancement of the controllability of the national economy.

It seems as though the social policy section is a direct retranslation of the decisions of the Seventh Congress of People's Deputies. Along with the declared and formerly targeted aid to the most needy sections of the population, instructions are given to draw up a law "On a Minimum Living Wage" within two weeks. But the "core of the program" will probably be the law "On the Regulation of Labor Remuneration," which, judging by everything, the government is trying to use to introduce a kind of restriction on working people's pay—one of the stimuli for inflation. And, most probably, the restoration of Sberbank [Bank for Labor Savings and Credit to the Population] depositors' savings—which was promised by the president and the Congress in the heat of debate before the referendum—will be postponed indefinitely. Since, because of its vagueness, the phrase "accelerate the preparation of proposals" makes it possible to keep "accelerating" until times improve—however long that takes.

Otherwise it would be very hasty to talk about financial stabilization and the limitation of inflation in the foreseeable future. All the more so as budget revenue will hardly be likely to increase because of the production slump and the weakness of the tax system. The bland phrase about cutting nonpriority spending and subsidies, we can surmise, conceals concessions to the regions, enterprises, and sectors. Last year concessions worth almost 2 trillion rubles [R] were allowed. It is hard to say whether the government will be able to withstand the lobbying and political pressure this time.

The intention to "avoid an excessively fiscal thrust in taxation, and to strengthen its role in stimulating the stabilization of production" by the end of the year is quite clear... The document enshrines in practice the agreement reached recently between the government and the Central Bank to the effect that the main anti-inflationary measure will continue to be a fixed growth rate for the availability of credit and the money supply. Against this backdrop working capital should be replenished and state enterprises' debts paid off out of their own reserves.

If this assertion is taken at face value, then, we must assume, it will be followed by the introduction of a bankruptcy law. But it is planned to conduct an "in-depth analysis of demand for enterprises' output in order to bring about the actual withdrawal of capacity that does not correspond to modern technological standards..." beforehand within the framework of the selective structural policy. In other words, does the government plan to support production of unprofitable but necessary goods? And what will happen to joint-stock enterprises where the state's shareholding is less than one-fifth or where there is no state shareholding at all? After all, according to the experts, the pace of privatization makes it possible to claim that after two or three months a considerable proportion of total industrial output will be being produced at joint-stock rather than state-owned enterprises. But the authorities in certain regions are already conducting their own "selective policy" aimed to all intents and purposes at destroying private enterprises.

The proposed amendments to the privatization program for 1993 will most probably get the thumbs-down from the adherents of free market relations—and not only from them, since clear claims that the sector ministries should control this process are discernible in the decree. But it is quite likely that things will nonetheless be restricted to taking note of comments—including on the rights of Federation components—which the State Committee for the Management of State Property, with its innate tendency toward complete monopolism, has not heeded and does not wish to hear. The ban on specialized investment funds using vouchers for purposes other than purchases of enterprises' shares came as a real bombshell for the funds and could ruin most of them. This is because, unless they were given tax breaks, these funds would hardly be able to survive without speculating in vouchers in the marketplace. As is well known, enterprises are not promising any dividends as yet.

In the foreign economic sphere the question of establishing controls over the export of strategically important goods has been squarely raised. In the very near future we can expect checkups on sales of raw materials at dumping prices abroad. In this direction too the government will have have to withstand very severe pressure—

and from the most unexpected quarters. After all, it might be unintentionally depriving numerous civil-servants-cum-businessmen of a source of prosperity. Previously the government had cautiously avoided this undertaking.

Judging by everything, the Chernomyrdin cabinet intends to continue with state price regulation. Following the failed attempt at the start of the year it is now planned, with the blessing of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, to examine the practice of pricing agreements within one month. Although, at the recent Union of Industrialists Congress, Viktor Chernomyrdin was rather skeptical on this point.

Thus, there is hardly a single sphere of the economy where the state would not be "staking out" its interests. It seems as though what the Gaydar policy lacked is beginning to be actively visible in the Chernomyrdin policy.

Military Issues

Grachev Comments on First Year of Armed Forces

LD0805163793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1114 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS military analyst Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—"Russia needs a numerically small, but purely professional Army, within the limits of one million men, armed with up-to-date and standardized weaponry. Its core is to be made up of highly mobile troops, capable of being quickly rushed over great distances," Russian Defence Minister General Pavel Grachev told ITAR-TASS on the eve of the first anniversary of the Russian armed forces, which is being marked today. "My ideal is a small, but strong and effectively controlled Army, consisting of men loyal to the homeland and dedicated to their military duty," he added.

Summing up the results of the year spent on the formation of the Russian armed forces, the minister noted: "Russia inherited military areas of the follow-up strategic echelon after the collapse of the Soviet Union, which were practically incapable of conducting, if need be, military operations without replenishment and additional armaments. The command system was practically upset for some time. The Army's military and technical equipment, the cash remuneration of servicemen, and the society's attitude towards them left much to be desired. Moreover, the psychological condition of the troops after the 1991 August events and the break-up of our armed forces into national armies had posed extremely painful problems before us. The Officers Corps, especially the commanding personnel of the Army and Navy were confused. With the connivance of the union's top state and military leaderships many officers went into various businesses, becoming dealers instead of commanders, readily marketing so-called military surpluses. Various hazing practices tended to corrupt the Army and Navy personnels. An immediate end had to be put to all this. It was necessary to switch the troops over to their main task—military training."

"In spite of this difficult period," Grachev noted, "we were able to set up new command agencies within the Defence Ministry and the general staff, within the headquarters of the arms of the service, and to launch an indepth structural reform of the military establishment inherited by Russia. The formation of new units and contingents was begun, along with the restoration of the Urals military area and of the system of troops control. We got down to the revision of plans to ensure the military and mobilisational preparedness of our troops, the effectiveness of our strategic nuclear forces and ground units. Parallel with this, we proceeded with the revision of the armaments and other hardware possessed by the Russian armed forces. But our main task was to bring about a fundamental change in the conscience of our officers, to make them believe that the Russian economic and military reforms were not one more campaign, which will end up with more "critiques" at all levels, but a long-term policy of our state leadership. "Lack of faith in the Russian Army's ability to exist and reform independently has been surmounted. This, probably, is the main result of this year and it is appreciated both by the leadership of the Defence Ministry and by Boris Yeltsin, our president and commander-in-chief of the Russian armed forces," Grachev stressed. "My trips to all the Russian military areas and navies, my talks with officers, soldiers and navymen have convinced me that we have accomplished a moral and psychological reform in our armed forces."

"We have laid the foundation for a new Russian Army and it is sufficiently solid. The conceptual principles making it up allow us to carry out step-by-step our plan to build up and reform the armed forces, covering a period of up to the year 2000," Grachev noted.

One more result of the year was the formation of new contingents and units in areas of topmost strategical importance: The North Caucasian, Moscow, Far Eastern regions and also on the Northern and Pacific Fleets. "Now I can say for sure that these military areas and fleets, even if they are not as strong as we want them to be, have been turned into aggregations capable of conducting military operations," Grachev stated.

"I began my work as defence minister by creating a more or less favourable social atmosphere in the armed forces," he noted. "Much was done with the help of the president, the government and the Supreme Soviet. Today Russian servicemen, from privates to generals, receive cash remuneration ensuring a decent life to them and their families. The contractual enlistment system has come into effect. As many as 60,000 men out of the 110,000 which were allowed to enlist on a contractual basis this year in accordance with a corresponding decision, are already serving in the armed forces. The

number of people wishing to sign such contracts has grown sharply after their pay was increased, and we are setting up more exacting test commissions to subject the volunteers to proper medical examination and psychological testing," Grachev said.

The new approach of officers to their professional duties and the massive replenishment of the armed forces with professionals have substantially enhanced their fighting capacity, have exerted a positive influence on the morality of military personnels. A recent analysis has shown that the number of hazing incidents in the Army and on the Navy, especially linked with the death of servicemen, has dropped by 40 per cent during the first four months of this year as compared to the same period of 1992, the minister stressed.

We have begun to implement our ancient idea of forming new inter-arm contingents, including mobile forces. Now they are being formed practically in all the military areas and a separate department will be set up in the period from the middle of 1994 to the beginning of 1995. Mobile troops will become fully-fledged inter-arm units of our armed forces. Practically all the legislative acts, badly needed by the armed forces, were adopted last year. Of course, the laws "on defence" and on military duty and military service, are not completely perfect, particularly as regards the call-up postponements which are often of a discriminatory nature. I have stated everywhere and I will continue to insist until I achieve a fair settlement of the problem that our young people are thereby being split into "blacks" and "whites". Russia must go back to the universal military service. We shall soon offer the Russian Supreme Soviet to adopt a law on universal military service, but, taking into account that our Army is a semi- professional force, we shall move to reduce the term of service to one year. Our calculations show that this time will be sufficient for a young man, serving alongside with professionals, to become a well-trained soldiers. Moreover, the Defence Ministry will oblige everybody to serve until the age of 25, to do away with military chairs at higher educational establishments.

"The volume of housing construction for servicemen has increased 2-6 times over in all the military areas and on the fleets.

However, we cannot increase this volume due to reasons that do not depend on us. The housing problem will only be aggravated by the massive pull-out of Russian troops from CIS countries and Germany. I bluntly object to the liquidation of engineer battalions, but judging by everything, this is bound to happen under the pressure of some factions within the parliament, some parties and public organisations. The armed forces will be compelled to build housing only on a contractual basis," the minister stressed.

He said that the absence of a normally operating system of military orders for hardware and equipment was another serious problem, requiring a special state programme. We have disrupted the necessary chain: order - financing - production. The situation is particularly difficult at enterprises called upon to satisfy the requirements of our Navy."

"The withdrawal of troops from the former Soviet republics is far from smooth. Only two states are allowing us to do it calmly and in keeping with the fixed timetable. We were unable to achieve firm agreements with the other republics at intergovernmental level, to reach agreement on compensations and, therefore, the withdrawal of Russian troops from there is chaotic," the minister stated.

Turning to the problem of the Russian military doctrine, Grachev noted that its draft was ready. It consists of three parts—the military-political, the military, and the military-technical. The draft was discussed by the Collegium of the Defence Ministry and partially by the Russian Security Council. Copies of the document were sent to corresponding committees of the Supreme Soviet and there is a real chance that the Russian armed forces will get a military doctrine in the form of a single document already in June, for the first time in their entire history.

Armed Forces Viewed After One Year in Existence

MK0805140093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 8 May 93 p 11

[Aleksandr Stukalin report: "The Future of Military Reform Depends on the Economic Situation"]

[Text] The Russian Armed Forces celebrated their first anniversary yesterday—on 7 May 1992 Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed an edict on their creation. On this momentous occasion a festive meeting was held at the Kremlin, attended by Russia's entire top brass headed by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian defense minister. Having lost the most formidable and well- equipped formations deployed in Ukraine and Belarus following the breakup of the former USSR, with its military infrastructure in Eastern Europe, the Baltic states, Transcaucasia, Central Asia, and some remote regions abroad in effect entirely gone, the Russian Army nonetheless remains a formidable combat force. KOMMERSANT-DAILY correspondent Aleksandr Stukalin reports on the changes that occurred in the Russian Armed Forces within the past year.

Despite the absence of "the main military enemy" in the form of the United States and NATO, the need for ensuring Russia's security and protecting its interests on the world scene following the breakup of the former USSR, the loss of its former allies, the emergence of new hotbeds of military tensions along the southern borders of the country, and the deterioration of the internal situation force the current Russian military and political leadership to maintain a sufficient level of combat readiness for the Army and Navy.

The possibility of a military threat coming from new directions forced the General Staff to proceed last year with the creation of an echeloned defense system made up of strategic reserves of covering forces [voysk prikrytiya], and mobile forces. Particular importance has been attached to mobile forces: The first units are being set up at a fast pace on the basis of the existing formations of the airborne and motorized rifle troops, accompanied by a simultaneous transfer from a cumbersome structure of divisions and armies to a compact one based on brigades and regiments. In addition, it has been decided to recreate territorial commands to which all the forces deployed in the regions, except for the strategic troops, are to be subordinated.

The strategic triad, however, has also undergone significant regrouping. One reason for this is the need to make cuts under the START I and START II treaties; another reason is the intention of the military to rely, if possible, exclusively on Russian scientific and production capacities for further equipping of the armed forces. It is for this reason, in some experts' view, that Russia is striving to get rid of all its Ukrainian-made ICBM's while leaving operational only Russian SS-19 and SS-25 missiles.

Attempts at military reform are encountering serious snags, however, owing to the current crisis in the Russian economy. The budget deficit has made it impossible up to now to finalize defense appropriations for 1993—the requested 1,000,970 million rubles has not yet been approved by parliament, to say nothing of the extra financing the military has been promised.

According to Defense Ministry experts' estimates, if the Russian Army continues to hoard debts, this may jeopardize in the very near future all the changes that have begun in the armed forces.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

The main tasks of the Russian Armed Forces to ensure Russia's military security, to protect its state interests, and to fulfill its obligations before foreign states and the world community:

—To deter any potential aggressor from unleashing a world nuclear or conventional war by maintaining the capacity of the Strategic Nuclear Forces to inflict on it irreparable damage under any combat conditions.

—To deter any potential aggressor from unleashing regional or local wars and armed conflicts by establishing and maintaining the combat potential of the groupings of general-purpose troops (forces) among the covering forces, mobile forces, and reserves of the Supreme High Command at a level guaranteeing the repulsion of aggression and ensuring the possibility of a timely buildup of the Armed Forces if the scale of hostilities increases.

Commentator Views Russian Army Anniversary

LD0705163793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 7 May 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Announcer] Today is the day on which we should all congratulate Russian citizens who wear military uniform. Exactly a year ago, two days before Victory Day, President Yeltsin signed a decree on setting up Russia's Armed Forces and one can already sum up the results.

[Commentator Aleksandr Zarayelyan] My dream is a small but strong and controllable army made up of people devoted to the fatherland and to the military calling, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev stated a few days ago. The fulfillment of this dream is still such a long way off, but in the past 12 months the worst has not happened: the Army has not fallen apart and anarchy has not ensued.

After the disintegration of the former USSR Russia inherited the military districts of the second strategic echelon practically not able to conduct combat activities were this to be required. Even control of the troops was virtually lost for some time. The news bulletin would not be long enough simply to list all the very serious problems facing the military at that time. Anyway, you all know this very well: the withdrawal of troops from the former Warsaw Pact countries, the lack of social facilities for the military, the selling off of property and the attempts to seize weapons, the hot spots in which Russian troops foudn themselves in difficulties—the Dniester region, North Ossetia—quarrels over the fleet between Russia and Ukraine; one cannot list them all.

Nevertheless, the serious restructuring of the Army is pressing ahead at full speed. Systems of control and communications have been put in place. A start has been made to forming new groupings on the territory of Russia. In particular the Urals military district has been recreated. A fundamentally new concept of mobile defense has been worked out. The army is being reduced and it will number not more than 1.5 million. It is also pleasing that the process of making the military professional has begun. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA considers that by 1995 the number of professionals among soldiers and sergeants will be 30 percent of the total number and by the year 2000 they will make up about half.

In spite of the very severe economic crisis in which we are all living, the top echelons of power have found the means to support the army both with money and with laws. In general, summing up the results of the first anniversary of the existence of the Russian Army one can state that our military have withstood the most difficult period. The future of the Army depends on what happens to Russia.

Grachev: Army Will Accept Veterans' Reform Proposals

PM0705160593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 May 93 p 1

[Vasiliy Fatigarov report: "Single Organization of Internationalist Servicemen Is Being Created in the Army and Navy"]

[Text] The main result of the All-Army Conference of Internationalist Servicemen in Moscow 5 May was the decision on the creation of a single organization for internationalist servicemen in the Russian Armed Forces. Colonel General Boris Gromov, deputy defense minister, has been instructed to organize new structures in the central directorates, branches of the Armed Forces, districts, and fleets up to and including army and division level.

In conversation with your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent, Army General Pavel Grachev, the defense minister, noted the importance of maintaining a normal mood among Afghan veterans—which, the minister believes, reflects the general attitude of Army collectives. On the whole the atmosphere in the Army is healthy. Some arrogant speeches were made at the conference, but they could not overshadow the intelligent and practical proposals to the Defense Ministry leadership on the further reform of the Army. Unified structures bringing together internationalists in the Army and the Navy, Pavel Grachev said, are only just being created, but we can already clearly see the audience's interest in implementing the reform of the Army, creating new units and subunits, and transferring and preserving combat experience.

But there are still many problems. Many participants in the conference expressed genuine concern. For example, in the opinion of Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, deputy defense minister, it is necessary to include in Russian law a requirement on universal military service obligation, to elaborate mechanisms for the implementation of the legislative acts that have been adopted on defense, military service obligation and military service, and the status of servicemen, and eliminate all types of draft deferral. Sergey Stepashin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Questions of Defense and Security, also pointed out the urgency of most of the problems mentioned. In his words, the committee is now elaborating proposals on the more effective use of the "military package" of laws and is closely cooperating with the "power" ministries in this respect.

The artistes who performed at a concert for the internationalist servicemen that day were well known to the audience. When the first strains of the song "The Black Tulip" by Aleksandr Rozenbaum, former major of the Naval Medical Service, filled the Russian Army Central House auditorium, members of the audience stood and many of the Afghan veterans had tears in their eyes. Iosif Kobzon's performance on stage was all his own work. And Lev Leshchenko performed on stage without a band, having only just returned from tour.

Elements of New Military Doctrine Highlighted

MK0705104693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 93 p 1

[Report by Vadim Solovyev, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA military analyst: "Pavel Grachev Builds Up Russia's Defense in a New Fashion, Sees Threat Where It Formerly Did Not Exist"]

[Text] "After a four- to five-year break, this year the troops again began doing what they actually have to do in the first place: they are now engaged in military training and not in painting fences, or building dachas for officers from stolen materials—in other words, serving their own selfish needs," Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said on the eve of the first anniversary of the Russian Armed Forces. He pointed this out as one of the achievements in the process of creating a Russian army.

A world thermonuclear war is considered unlikely, virtually impossible given the current and prospective relations between East and West. Local conflicts, however (in the first instance, those originating in the south), are deemed to be a serious destabilizing factor. This is why the Defense Ministry has taken pains to form the North Caucasus Military District. Within a year, five combat-ready motorized rifle brigades sprung up there having been set up virtually from scratch. This was necessary not only because it was formerly a purely rear-echelon district, but also because the new brigades are entirely in line with the concept of highly mobile armed forces distinguished by smallness of size and extremely high efficiency, equipped with state-of-the-art weapons and combat hardware.

Thus, a barrier is being erected in the way of the most aggressive form of Islamic fundamentalism that preaches violence. "Each day blood is being spilled to turn Tajikistan into an Islamic state. If these plans succeed, we should expect Islamic fundamentalism to spread further to the north—Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, and so forth. We should not forget that there are around 20 million people in Russia who profess Islam. If the flame of war in Tajikistan is not extinguished, it may have dangerous consequences for Russia, too, the more so because aggressive feelings are manifest in Chechnya," Pavel Grachev believes.

On the other hand, the accelerated development of the North Caucasus Military District is also circumstantial evidence of the fact that Russian troops do not plan to stay in Georgia for a long time. In the end, it is up to the Georgian leadership to decide whether it should have safely protected borders or set up a national army even if it has nothing to back up these plans. Regarding the war with Abkhazia, it is least likely, in the Russian Defense Ministry's view, to have any impact on Russian security

interests because it is a fratricidal war waged for the main purpose of dividing authority, and its end appears to be a long way off.

It is planned to set up "mini-defense ministries" under deputy defense ministers in the Far East, namely in the Baykal and Volga regions. It is also envisioned to establish small-scale "replicas" of the general staff there. In the event of heightening tensions, these command and control bodies, according to Pavel Grachev, "would be able immediately take over the command of all available personnel and equipment, while maintaining a centralized command structure. Regional commanders-in-chief will be single commanders for all military chiefs in the military districts, fleets, and other military formations in a specific area." This squares with the presidential concept of the Armed Forces that calls for finding opportunities to set up territorial commands.

Today, precisely one year after the process of creating the Russian army began (Boris Yeltsin signed an edict to that effect on 7 May 1992), Pavel Grachev can already see when this work will be completed—in the year 2000. By that time the Defense Ministry could actually be split into two parts: a civilian agency and a purely military one. The civilian half will be charged with devising military policy, building up the Armed Forces, collaborating with other ministries, and appraising orders for weapons, but will not directly influence the command of the Army and the Navy as such. The General Staff will take over the functions of the current Defense Ministry and will supervise military training and mobilization readiness in peacetime, conduct inspections, and handle manning matters.

Minister: Army Devotes More Attention to Social Issues

PM0705162193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 5 May 93 p 7

[Interview with Colonel General Valeriy Mironov, deputy defense minister, by correspondent Mikhail Semenov; place and date not given: "The Army's Strength Is Based on Strong Rear Services"]

[Text] [Semenov] This is, I am sure, the first time in the Russian Army's history that social problems have come to the fore. We all know perfectly well why that is. Which of the problems, Valeriy Ivanovich, would you define as priority?

[Mironov] There are several. First, providing servicemen with housing. In 1992 we managed to move almost 60,000 families of servicemen into new homes; in 1995 the figure will be 87,500, but the number of those in the Army without quarters is not going down.

Second, the gaps in our rear services support. Tens of thousands of tonnes of food, fuel and lubricants, and other kinds of material and technical supplies have not reached the troops as a result of enterprises' breaching their contract commitments.

Third, the difficulties in finding jobs for members of servicemen's families and in providing them with medical care and preschool establishments.

Fourth, the situation concerning the performance of duty has deteriorated because of undermanning. Difficult military work becomes doubly so when you have to serve for yourself and "the other guy." And meanwhile the number of those "other guys," exempted from service on various pretexts, is growing.

Fifth, the social adaptation of those discharged from the Army owing to large-scale cutbacks is a priority area. There are other problems of a social dimension too: servicemen's dissatisfaction with their real income, the poor catering in enlisted men's messes, the disorganized working day of officers...

The Defense Ministry has drawn up a draft state program of priority measures to tackle servicemen's social problems. Unless they are solved, military reform will get nowhere. The level of awareness and the mood of servicemen and the solution of the problems of morale and morality involved in military organizational development depend on the state of the social sphere. Meanwhile the soundness of the moral and spiritual bases of military organizational development are being put to the test today by the negative trends prevalent in society. The difficulties of reorienting public awareness and the foundering of old values are all having an adverse impact on morale in military collectives.

[Semenov] The cutting back (discharge) of a large proportion of servicemen forms an integral part of the reform of the Armed Forces. What specific policy is being pursued in this area by the Armed Forces' leadership?

[Mironov] Take, for example, the area of improving the organizational-staff structure of the Armed Forces and their substantial reduction. We should not ignore the fact that this process exacts a considerable price in terms of morale and emotional distress and even sometimes the crushing of personal plans and hopes.

The ministry's position on resolving this problem is as follows: Officers who have completed their set term of service and are entitled to a pension and social benefits will be the first subject to discharge. We demand an individual approach to discharge, with account taken of the Armed Forces' need for highly skilled cadres.

The standing of military service remains an acute problem. Despite the measures being taken to provide social protection for servicemen, the exodus from the Armed Forces shows no letup. Concern for young officers' material position is undoubtedly an important task. But it is equally important to create the kind of atmosphere in society and the Army in which high spiritual and moral value is placed on military service and where the defenders of the fatherland are surrounded by the attention and concern of all the people.

Only then will the standing of military service as an important state activity be raised.

Problems are emerging during the reform of the system of military formation. The great Einstein once warned: "It is not enough to teach people specialisms alone, as they then merely becomes a useful machine rather than a human being in the full sense of the word... They should possess a deep sense of what is beautiful and what is moral." It is from this perspective that we must resolve the task of developing and introducing into the practice of higher educational establishments a system of military education which will make it possible to imbue military education with moral content, reveal more fully creative abilities and strengths, mold a high level of spirituality, and help people deeply grasp the meaning of life and work and the state importance of military service.

We are also talking about humanizing military education and enhancing the role played and contribution made by the social sciences in fashioning the mind, general culture, and world outlook of officers. It is no longer enough today to furnish officers with diverse information and professional skill and expertise. It is essential to develop military men who are cultured, educated, and professional in their thinking.

[Semonov] If I have understood correctly, you are talking about galvanizing educational work in the Army, but on a different basis from before.

[Mironov] Absolutely true. We regard the development of educational work as one of the most important ways of increasing the effectiveness of military organizational development. A draft overview of this is in existence. It was drawn up with the participation of academics, specialists, and practical workers from the troops. The overview, which will soon be examined by the Defense Ministry Collegium, contains a number of new and fundamental features.

State and public organizations, the relatives and friends of servicemen, and religious faith are to be regarded as a very important element of educational work with the personnel and commanders, staffs, and all Army educators. This will make it possible to increase society's responsibility for the state of educational work among the troops and will help strengthen the bonds between the Army and the people. Here the main stress among educators and students is placed on enhancing the role of the actual individual in this process, that is to say, a special role is assigned to self-education.

The overview is based on a broad, democratic approach to the means of educating the personnel. These include the mass media, works of art and culture...

Freedom of conscience and religion and the exercise of such in the Army are a spiritual and moral problem. This is confirmed by the Law "On the Status of Servicemen." A course of religious studies has been introduced in the Armed Forces' Humanities Academy.

[Semonov] An international conference devoted to the problems of servicemen's education was recently held at the Humanities Academy. How would you rate the conference's significance.

[Mironov] I would rate it highly: The conference was concerned with the spiritual factor, which must permeate the whole process of organizational development of the Russian Armed Forces. On a practical plane, the conference made known the experience of the educational system in the U.S. Army, training in higher education establishments, social education, and the use of free time. There is a good deal to be learned here. Another feature was that many of the visitors to our country were here for the first time and they were to a certain extent shackled by the stereotypes of their own propaganda. A didactic tone was perceptible in certain speeches. But as the discussion went on the visitors were able to see for themselves that our servicemen possess a glorious history and inexhaustible sources of patriotism, spirituality, and morality.

Further such meetings will certainly be held. A similar conference is going to be held in the United States. And a series of other contacts are planned. We are on the threshold of cooperation in servicemen's education between our countries based on trust and common interests.

Supreme Soviet

Further on 7 May Constitutional Commission Meeting

LD0805145293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1955 GMT 7 May 93

[Report on the proceedings of the plenary session of the Russian Federation Constitutional Commission in the House of Soviets on 7 May; from the "Report From the Constitutional Commission Session" program—passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A plenary session of the Constitutional Commission took place in the House of Soviets today. Before it started, Commission Secretary Oleg Rumyantsev spoke to journalists.

[Rumyantsev] "An official letter was received from the president about promptly examining his draft at a session of the Constitutional Commission. In response to the president's wishes, we are gathering promptly, but he suddenly declares that our session is illegal. I believe that the president is not God, of course, and that he sometimes makes mistakes. In this case he has made a serious mistake."

[Announcer] Instead of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ruslan Khasbulatov chaired the session. He reminded the Commission members that:

[Khasbulatov] "At the Eighth Congress of People's Deputies, the Constitutional Commission, the Supreme Soviet, and the president were instructed to carry out

intensive work on finalizing the draft constitution which was introduced at the sixth congress and for which the main provisions and ideas were approved.

"Unfortunately, one has to say frankly that both the objective and probably the subjective circumstances have not been very conducive to our intensive work. Since the Seventh Congress, there have been two unscheduled congresses. Somehow we have not managed to get down very firmly to defining the clauses, provisions, and conceptual ideas which would ultimately become the norms of our constitution, the draft of which—I repeat—has already been approved by us at the congress.

"Nevertheless, a sufficiently favorable situation has now been created, if we take the long-term view, and I certainly am not referring to any kind of opportunistic attempts to bring about the adoption of the constitution using unconstitutional means. This is something which is inconceivable and hardly probable. The instigators are most probably assuming that by applying this pressure, it will be possible to achieve something more, and so on. In principle, a task of this kind is not feasible. Therefore, one way or another we have to give impetus to the process connected with elaborating, adopting, and submitting the constitution, as the basic law of our country, for discussion at the congress and nationwide.

"Of course, this matter is also directly linked to the elections that have taken place. The elections have clearly shown—notwithstanding the speed and ambiguity of many conclusions—they have clearly shown society's desire to preserve the albeit imperfect power which exists. We will preserve it. Therefore, any discussion about what has been said or what has not been said is hardly fruitful or expedient. Therefore, the constitutional path of development presupposes its adoption precisely through state and constitutional institutions and through the congress."

[Announcer] In his speech, Constitutional Commission Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov condemned the president's draft. At the same time, he noted several positive elements in it.

[Ryabov] "In my view, the major positive is its simpler wording, although, if one looks at it closely, one can find many counterarguments. First, we do not need the constitution for the clarity of form. We need the constitution to guarantee the safe and stable development of the country. Ordinary people do not read and use the constitution. The constitution is a specialists' document. But sometimes a simplicity of wording—I would like to stress this—and a desire to give a very simple formula makes one think that the Russian proverb—simplicity is worse than thieving—is true. If we take human rights and freedoms, this simplicity leads to a situation when a close reading demonstrates, on the contrary, a restriction of these rights and freedoms compared even to the existing Constitution."

[Announcer] Oleg Rumyantsev, who was next to take the floor, said there were few positive elements in the president's draft.

[Rumyantsev] "The idea that the president can act without controls is a constant refrain in the draft presented for consideration. I have already said that although he is not called the head of the executive, the extent of his exclusive powers demonstrates that the president is in fact the supreme leader in the field of executive power.

"Under Article 107, he approves the structure of federal bodies of executive power. He approves the composition of the government. On the recommendation of the chairman of the government, he personally appoints all ministers and officials. He dissolves the government, issues decrees and instructions compulsory for the government, presents bills to parliament, introduces a state of emergency, announces a nationwide referendum, etc. In fact the president is the head of the executive power but no one is responsible for either internal or external policy. No one, first and foremost the president, bears any responsibility.

"In the framework of executive power, in fact, two parallel structures are being laid down: the president's executive power and the government's executive power. Moreover, in our opinion the presidential executive power has the role of the structure which in the past was fulfilled by the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee; that is, it is real power, but at same time it is not responsible to parliament."

[Announcer] Deputy Yuriy Slobodkin, a member of the commission, made the brightest and most outspoken speech. He said he did not accept either the president's or the official drafts of the main law.

[Slobodkin] "The authors of both drafts borrow Anglo-Franco-American options and norms and try to transplant them on our national soil. The second point that unites these drafts is the fact that they essentially consolidate and state the disintegration of the USSR and legalize a criminal activity aimed at breaking up the country. The third point that unites them is the fact that both drafts regard unlimited private ownership of the main means of production as the foundation of the economic structure. Ownership is proclaimed to be a sacred and inviolable private ownership of the main means of production, a sacred, inviolable, and natural right. This right has never existed and does not exist in the history of mankind. The fourth point which unites both drafts is the fact that both drafts proclaim the universal introduction of private ownership of land and the transformation of land into something which can be bought, sold, or pawned.

"The main difference lies in the organizing structures of the supreme bodies of power. I have already spoken partially about this. It seems to me that in the long run neither presidential capitalism—rapacious, insolent, and

cynical—nor the capitalism with a democratic face proposed as the official draft constitution will be accepted by our society, and will be rejected."

[Announcer] Expressing probably the opinion of the communist majority of the corps of deputies, Deputy Slobodkin said in conclusion:

[Slobodkin] "It seems to me that if the president in the very near future takes moves aimed at pushing his draft through the so-called constituent assembly or the constitutional assembly, it will be necessary to immediately raise the question of convening an emergency congress and to take sanctions against him in accordance with Article 121/6; attempts to adopt the constitution though the so-called constitutional assembly or constituent assembly are an open encroachment upon the constitutional bodies of power and upon the supreme legislative body, upon the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies.

"In accordance with Article 121/6, the president is trying to move the Congress of People's Deputies away from adopting the main law, which is the prerogative of the congress, so we will have to use this right. I am convinced that if we—as it has been done for many months and even years—try to find some common points with the president regarding the solution to future constitutional problems, and if he disobeys the will of the congress and the will of the people—first and foremost I mean the will expressed in the main law of our country—it will be necessary to take radical measures against him. Otherwise, dictatorship; otherwise, fascism. There is no other way."

[Announcer] Expert Oleg Krylov, who was brought in by the commission to study the president's draft, noted in it the limitation of the rights of representative institutions.

[Krylov] "Reaction to the denial of the legality of the existing parliamentary institution in our country is amazingly slow in our press. It seems to me that we have not yet recognized the power of the president, personal power, I mean. But for some reason, within these walls recognition is accorded to the abolute power of the press. No reaction is made to its actions. I think that particular attention needs to be paid to that, and it is necessary not only to be persistent in championing the representative system but also to do that before attacks on it have become excessive. Thank you."

[Announcer] Mikhail Zakharov, a member of the commission, detected dangerous underwater hazards in virtually every article in the presidential draft.

[Zakharov] "Well, what should be done, in my view? I've told you that we need to make a sudden leap forward. It is necessary, in my view, to convene the congress and adopt a constitution. That must be done; otherwise we will get this so-called constitution. We must all agree, perhaps, to overcome our disagreements and differences over certain individual matters. Either we will generally create and strive to build up a real, genuine, democratic state, or we will get a nonparliamentary, undemocratic republic, something like a monarchy from the last century. Thank you."

[Announcer] Concluding the discussion, Ruslan Khasbulatov said:

[Khasbulatov] "We need to move on rapidly to the adoption of a constitution, to clear away the disagreements, and to bear in mind all the positive elements, to bear in mind all the positive elements, so that this constitution really is the strongest symbol of national reconciliation.

"And, incidentally, to speak intensively, explaining in fact what has just been said. People really are confused. They don't understand.

"Right. We will prepare here, for your information, a whole series of articles for the central press. We will of course ask the regions to publish those that show what, how, and so on, right? I would ask all members of the Constitutional Commission to join in and, since we do not have vast possibilities—we do not control the mass media—I personally will also help all the members of our Constitutional Commission to get into the papers and magazines—it takes a long time with the central ones—in defense of our drafts, those that we are dealing with. It is also necessary to speak on radio and television."

[Announcer] Responding to a request to comment on the progress of the sitting, Anatoliy Sliva, the president's official spokesman on legal matters, said the following:

[Sliva, interviewed in his office] "On 6 May this year the president officially sent his draft constitution—let's put it that way—to the members of the Constitutional Commission. As you can see, the commission was convened on 7 May. Three years and a gap of one day. This is clear evidence of the speeding up of the constitutional process in the Russian Federation. [laughs] This is gratifying. This meeting of the members of the Constitutional Commission, their intent, and their somewhat biased attention, on the part of individual speakers, to the president's draft—on the whole I regard this as a positive event."

[Unidentified reporter] "The constructive work proposed at the commission by the joint working group to unite and integrate the two drafts—the so-called official one and the president's—is it possible?"

[Sliva] "This is a difficult question. This is a very difficult question. The Constitutional Commission and its working body in the form of the working group have been existing for about three years already. Honestly, I can't see any results which would have brought us closer to the point where the process of adopting the constitution begins. I have witnessed—I was present at—all Congresses of Russian People's Deputies and accordingly at the discussions of the issues devoted to the draft of the new constitution. You know, I have the impression that none of the congresses had a serious, profound,

and expanded discussion of the new Russian constitution. Brief reports, brief debates—one can take the minutes and have a look.

"But excuse me, how can one act like this? From the point of view that the congress should fulfill its historic role in practice, go into history, and, shall we say, go off the scene, giving room to a real parliament—there is nothing more important than this, do you understand? I am convinced of this. This is a constituent body. This is a body which constitutes the system and structure of power.

"You are asking me this question. Well, the Supreme Soviet and the Constitutional Commission are just copies, so to speak, of the same congress. Do you understand? That's why I am very much alarmed by this. You might ask me this question; I will try and anticipate one of your questions. Take Deputy Slobodkin—a member of the Constitutional Commission, a lawyer, and a judge with many years of experience. There was yet another one of his ardent speeches today. What was it all about?

"It was about the fact that the president's draft is bad. Well, I am not going to repeat his words, which were on the verge of unparliamentary expressions. The chairman was right when he called for restraint on his part today. But I knew what Deputy Slobodkin was going to say next. He said it, utterly smashing the president's draft with no particular arguments. Unfortunately, with no less anger he attacked the official draft prepared by the Constitutional Commission. He is not alone. He is not alone, and there are forces behind him, do you understand? Russia cannot continue to develop democratically and to reform itself if it does not have a fundamental law for its life. It simply cannot."

Atmosphere 'Calm, Businesslike'

PM0705165693 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 2

[Aleksey Vorobyev report: "Constitution Should Be Pact of National Consensus"]

[Text] Despite the presidential team's patent desire to whip up political passions around the Constitutional Commission, its session yesterday took place in a calm and businesslike atmosphere.

Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov singled out the main principle, stressing that you cannot create the state's Fundamental Law according to some individual yardstick, to suit a specific personality. Fundamental documents of this kind are drawn up and adopted in the interests of the entire people and the state, and of all the participants in the sociopolitical process. They should therefore be based on a profound, all-around, and sincere consensus among all social forces and state institutions.

Nikolay Ryabov, who then spoke, noted among the positive aspects of the presidential draft the clear demarcation of powers in the sphere of the executive authority and the well-chosen phrasing whereby the chairman of the government heads the highest executive power, while the president is the highest official of the state.

However, he drew attention to the fact that in the same document citizens' rights and freedoms are significantly curtailed even compared with the existing Constitution. This, it goes without saying, cannot be permitted in the context of building a truly democratic state.

Nikolay Ryabov also noted that in the presidential draft there is a marked inequality between the upper and lower chambers of the future parliament, which in turn creates the conditions for discrimination against certain components of the Federation, since in that event the representation of krays and oblasts in the lower chamber would patently be just for show and would be a constant source of conflict.

"The presidential draft substantially disrupts the balance of powers," Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission, noted. "It puts the president above all the other branches of power, and that is appropriate only to authoritarian states."

The session also examined the basic provisions of the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation drawn up by the Constitutional Commission's working group. A list of 58 of these basic provisions, together with the official text (not to be confused with the presidential text) of the draft new Constitution of the Russian Federation, which also includes in its entirety the Federation Treaty, has already been distributed to the components of the Federation, which should formulate their proposals and comments and send them to the Constitutional Commission by 1 June 1993.

It was stressed that the components of the Federation should not be represented by the leaders of any one branch of local power; on the contrary, heads of administrations and soviet leaders not only can, but should, confer with one another on their comments and ideas to improve the draft drawn up by the Constitutional Commission and submit their considered opinion for discussion.

The members of the Constitutional Commission adopted a resolution recognizing that the presidential draft constitution contains a number of provisions that should be taken into account in finalizing the text of the Fundamental Law of the Russian Federation. Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, in conjunction with Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the commission, were instructed to appoint a working group to complete work on the draft constitution of the Russian Federation.

A resolution of the Constitutional Commission on the basic provisions of the draft constitution of the Russian Federation was adopted.

Move To Cooperate With Yeltsin

MK0805091893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 2

[Ivan Rodin report under "Drafts" rubric: "Yeltsin Offered Cooperation. Constitutional Commission Session Held"]

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov has urged that work on a new constitution be speeded up but that it not be drawn up with any specific person in mind. Constitutional Commission Deputy Chairman Nikolay Ryabov stated that the presidential draft contains both positive and negative provisions and that the former should be taken into consideration during the work. Constitutional Commission Senior Secretary Rumyantsev was much more radical. He noted that the "Shakhray-Alekseyev draft" buries the principle of the separation of powers. Although the president, it says, is merely the head of state and the highest official, he forms the government, appoints federal officials, determines cabinet policy, and is the only one to have the right to submit draft laws associated with finance and the budget to parliament. The president thus has executive authority but is not responsible to anybody for his actions. The president also exercises legislative authority, because he can issue edicts having the power of law; as for judicial authority, he can repeal laws that contradict the constitution.

The senior secretary proposed that the three-point Constitutional Commission decree be adopted. It recognizes that the president's draft constitution contains provisions that must be taken into consideration during finalization of the Basic Law's official version, and that there are also negative aspects—substantial restrictions on economic, political, and civil human rights. It was proposed that the presidential draft not be used as a basis for further work, but the president was invited to participate in the formation of a special working group. Khasbulatov persuaded the Constitutional Commission members to tone down the decree by omitting the words about not using the president's text in the process of agreeing on the new constitution's final version. Another decree—"On the Procedure for Considering Proposals of the Russian Federation's Subjects on the Draft of a New Constitution"—was prepared for approval by the Supreme Soviet. They must discuss it and send their authorized representatives to the Constitutional Commission before 1 June.

The Constitutional Commission session was extremely revealing. Of the two courses for the legislature's reaction to the president's constitutionalist moves—either to strike an uncompromising pose and, using the Constitutional Commission, to reject all his actions that do not have a firm constitutional basis and the doubtful interpretations of the referendum results or to start cooperating with the president and in the work process try to neutralize all his harsh gestures in the tight embraces of parliamentary procedure—it looks like the second has been chosen. The above Supreme Soviet draft decree is evidence supporting this fact. It is creating practically the same consultative Constitutional Assembly as Yeltsin is proposing to convene. Khasbulatov categorically denied that there is any alternative to them.

Ban Lifted on News Agency Reporters at Presidium Sessions

LD0905122693 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] Yuriy Marchenkov, the head of the Russian parliament's press service, has reversed his decision to bar ITAR-TASS, RIA, and INTERFAX correspondents from sessions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. He claimed that the ban on those journalists attending the Presidium session on 5 May was a one-time measure which he had been forced to take. However, Marchenkov had earlier put the ban down to what he called the agencies' habit of putting their own interpretation of the matters considered by the Presidium.

Further on Session Assessing May Day Events

MK0705131693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 May 93 p 1

[Ivan Rodin report under the rubric "Parliament": "Ruslan Khasbulatov Suggests That May Day Events be Given Political Appraisal First. Prosecutor's Office Questioned 300 Eyewitnesses"]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet heard reports from Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, Moscow City Soviet Chairman Nikolay Gonchar, Internal Affairs Minister Viktor Yerin, and acting General Prosecutor Vladimir Slavgorodskiy regarding the 1 May events.

Ruslan Khasbulatov declared that first and foremost, a political appraisal should be given to the incidents on Gagarin Square, while a legal appraisal could wait. The speaker virtually repeated his speech at the Supreme Soviet Presidium session, remarking only that these events "are not isolated from the general tendency toward autocracy, and that worries me." The Supreme Soviet chairman called for forgetting about the referendum, which has been left behind, and encouraged everybody to look for a "corridor of agreement."

Mayor Luzhkov cited some statistics: There have been, since the start of the year, 185 meetings, manifestations, pickets, and so forth, 75 of them unsanctioned. Yuriy Luzhkov declared that this heightened tensions in the city in the extreme. The mayor described in detail what Moscow authorities did before and on 1 May. He answered numerous questions from the deputies as he made rather harsh references to the defeat of the communist forces in the referendum, which is why they are obliged to stage provocations. Yuriy Luzhkov called on the Supreme Soviet to give thorough consideration to their decisions before 9 May so as not to encourage provocations. In Mr. Luzhkov's view, the fact that the

demonstrators had marched from Oktyabrskaya Square to the White House for support speaks volumes about the positions of the deputy corps.

The internal affairs minister chronicled the 1 May developments. Answering questions, Mr. Yerin spoke in harsher terms. He categorically dismissed all reports of demonstrator deaths and stolen bodies. The minister took full responsibility for directing the operation. Acting General Prosecutor V. Slavgorodskiy reported that the Prosecutor's Office had taken action on the case; the investigation team consists of 70 persons, and 300 eyewitnesses had been questioned.

Gennadiy Benov, chairman of the parliamentary investigation commission, who brought up the rear in a long series of speakers, made a long speech where he virtually justified the demonstrators. He proposed expanding his commission to dispel all doubts of its objectivity, and to approve a decree it had drawn up.

As this issue of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA was signed to print, the parliamentarians continued debate and made no decision.

Press Service Rejects Use of Force Against Chechnya

LD0705181093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1700 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet has been receiving communications from citizens of Chechen nationality expressing alarm over possible Russian armed interference in the events occurring in the Chechen Republic. The parliament's press service has issued a statement making it plain that Russia will not take any forceful actions against the Chechen Republic.

Regional Affairs

Dudayev Says Situation in Chechnya 'Stabilized'

LD1005122493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] In the opinion of Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev, the situation in Chechnya has stabilized. Seven gangs that were engaged in robbery and murder have been exposed and disarmed. Dudayev was speaking in an interview with the RIA agency.

Speaking about the mutual relations between Chechnya and Russia, he expressed the hope that, sooner or later, these would become mutually profitable and based on equal rights. Dudayev said it is important to enforce the laws of the civilized world in Chechnya and to provide the conditions for developing society and the safety of citizens.

Chelyabinsk Governor-Elect on Referendum, Privatization

PM0705123193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Interview with Petr Sumin, chairman of Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet, by Anatoliy Usoltsev in Chelyabinsk; date not given: "Petr Sumin: Quota of Revolutions Exhausted"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk Oblast voted for confidence in the Russian president and his government's policy. It voted at the same time for a new head of administration, Petr Sumin, who in recent times has been virtually accused of attempting to oppose the reforms being carried out in the country. What does new governor P. Sumin, a Russian people's deputy and chairman of oblast soviet, himself think about all this?

[Sumin] Chelyabinsk Oblast has suddenly become the object of close attention from government structures and the Russian and foreign mass media. The heightened interest has been provoked not by ecological issues or matters relating to the rehabilitation of polluted territories, not by the problems of declining industrial production or the situation in the countryside, or by public assistance for the underprivileged... but by the oblast soviet's decision to suspend the auctioning of checks.

[Usoltsev] In this connection Russian Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays visited the oblast, and in answer to journalists' questions at a press conference evaluated the oblast soviet's decision as unlawful...

[Sumin] We told him that we would not auction off the oblast's interests. Judge for yourself: In Chelyabinsk Oblast checks worth 36 billion rubles [R] have been issued, but they are only secured by property worth a third of this sum.

So what is the solution? It lies in interweaving the property interests of regions and sectors.

When we set out our position to officials of the State Committee for the Management of State Property, they were forced to admit that our arguments were reasonable. Joint work produced the "Agreement on Mutual Support of Privatization Between the State Committee for the Management of Property and the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and Chelyabinsk Oblast Administration."

Under this agreement the State Committee for the Administration of Property promised to organize a continuous all-Russia check auction on Chelyabinsk Oblast territory within one month and to accelerate the adoption of a government decision on the privatization of military-industrial complex enterprises. Obstacles to conducting check auctions were also removed on our side.

As we see, Chelyabinsk Oblast was not a "testing ground for the battle against privatization," as some sections of

the mass media hastily declared, but a testing ground for the search for reasonable solutions.

[Usoltsev] Petr Ivanovich, how do you assess the results of the referendum in Chelyabinsk Oblast?

[Sumin] Even before the vote I had occasion to say that there would be no winners and no losers. And so it turned out. The people of Chelyabinsk voted for confidence in the president and his reform policy, but at the same time they did not support the idea of early elections for either branch of power. Now we have to study the referendum results calmly and draw conclusions. In my view, our electorate came out in favor of the institution of constructive work between the Russian president and the Supreme Soviet. It is time to finally concentrate on the problems of our ailing economy.

[Usoltsev] Chelyabinsk Oblast held an election for head of the administration. The electorate voted for you. But Vadim Solvyev has not, in fact, been relieved of the duties of governor. What do we have now—a dyarchy?

[Sumin] There will be no dyarchy. And there will be just one governor in the oblast. Right now it is Solovyev. The new head of administration will assume office only when all the legal questions have been settled and the former head has laid down his powers. So let no one think that we intend to seize power by force or storm the oblast administration building. Chelyabinsk Oblast, along with Russia, has exhausted its quota of revolutions.

Bashkir Leader Displeased With Skokov's Dismissal

MK0805141493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 3

[Radik Batyrshin report under "Comment" rubric: "Yuriy Skokov Dismissed. Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaz Rakhimov Bewildered"]

[Text] The dismissal of the senior secretary of the Russian Federation Security Council and the Council of Heads of Russian Federation Republics has aggrieved the leaders of former autonomous entities. Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Chairman Murtaz Rakhimov stated in an exclusive comment for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA: "Skokov's dismissal shows that the president is giving short shrift to people who are taking a different position." According to him, "people like Skokov have restrained Yeltsin from making sudden moves." Rakhimov is bewildered: "With whom is the president now going to be left?" The Bashkir leader rates Skokov highly: "This man advocated the implementation of the Federation Treaty and the preservation of Russia's unity not in words but in deeds." He says: "I got along well with him. God grant that he be replaced by an equally intelligent and farsighted politician." The motive behind Skokov's dismissal is not clear to Rakhimov, because at a recent meeting of the leaders of the Russian Federation's subjects Yeltsin called him "a very close friend and aide." Speaking about the rumors of Sergey Shakhray's appointment to the posts occupied by Skokov, the Bashkir leader said: "The president evidently wants to give Shakhray all vacant posts."

Kalmykia Leader on Region's Political Transformation

LD0805122593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0908 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Rostov-on-Don May 8 TASS—The power of soviets does not exist any longer on the territory of Kalmykia (the area at the lower reaches of the Volga), Kirsan Ilyumzhinov, 30, told ITAR-TASS today, assessing his performance during the first month of his presidency. He is here on a visit on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the North Caucasian Military District.

According to Ilyumzhinov, the disbandment of the Council of Ministers, the stage-by-stage dissolution of the Kalmyk Supreme Soviet, as well as of the local councils (soviets) "put an end to the bloated apparatus of the party and economic management nomenklatura".

"The people supported my initiatives," Ilyumzhinov said. The rejection of the old power structures paved the way "to a calm transition of the republic to a market-oriented economy ... This is envisaged by my economic programme of transformations, which is intended for 100 days," he stressed. "We said we did not need Russia's subsidies and are now building the republican economy by ourselves. The putting into operation of the first factory, constructed with the help of local investments, is evidence of it."

The president does not rule out a possibility of the participation of former "soviet officials" in the implementation of the economic reform. In his opinion, they should find by themselves their place in life and the sphere where they can use their knowledge and expertise.

Responding to the question whether the liquidation of the soviets undermined confidence in the Kalmyk Government on the part of senior officials from the neighbouring regions, Ilyumzhinov said he did not feel any misunderstanding or isolation coming from them. "We have absolute mutual understanding with our neighbours. We continue to maintain economic and cultural relations with them, and intend to further develop those relations."

Speaking about prospects of the economic and social transformations in the republic, Ilyumzhinov expressed hope that in two years he would be able to "create conditions ruling out any possibility of the return to the past, and to improve the wellbeing of my compatriots."

Chernomyrdin Visits Gas Works in Orenburg Oblast

LD0705163293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1400 GMT 7 May 93

[Report by correspondent Chernyshova from Orenburg; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today, Viktor Chernomyrdin will finish his visit to Orenburg Oblast. At the gas processing plant where the prime minister worked for six years, he was greeted as an old aquaintance. As an old aquaintance, the prime minister asked the most uncomfortable questions, and would not simply believe in figures. Having flown over the plant already, and with his excellent knowledge of the production process, he already knew all the weak points.

For the gas workers the main problem today is disruptions in supplies of raw materials from Kazakhstan. Thus, his final meeting with the plant's management and heads of the fuel and energy complex resembled a routine production briefing with every question raised being followed by a proposed solution.

After laying wreaths at the Eternal Flame, Viktor Chernomyrdin visited the military air transport division deployed in Orenburg where he familiarized himself with the schedule for the troops' withdrawal from abroad.

At the end of the day, the chairman of the government held a meeting with representatives of law enforcement organs on the subject of the criminal situation in the South Urals.

Ingushetia Refugees Attacked by Unidentified Ossetians

LD0705184093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1756 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Nazran, May 7 (TASS)—A group of refugees, citizens of the Ingush Republic, who were moving to populated localities of the Prigorogny District of north Ossetia, were attacked by unidentified persons of the Ossetian nationality on Friday. No fatalities were reported.

Stones were thrown at the Ingushes who were going by buses accompanied by servicemen from the state traffic inspectorate of north Ossetia. Only the timely intervention of a Russian OMON [special purpose militia detachment] special police unit prevented the more serious development of the situation. The bus convoy with the Ingushes returned to Nazran.

Vice-president of Ingushetia, Lieutenant-General Boris Agapov, regarded these actions by Ossetians as an obvious provocation. The aim of this action is to "provoke a certain part of the Ingush population to retaliatory actions so as to have a pretext later to accuse the Ingush Republic of extremism," the lieutenant-general told ITAR-TASS. "Thus, Ossetian hooligan elements seek to create an intolerable situation for Ingushes living in the Prigorodny District of north Ossetia. Such actions do not promote the successful settlement of the hard consequences of the Ossetian-Ingush conflict, First of all, the return of refugees and forced resettlers to the places of their permanent residence," the vice-president of Ingushetia pointed out.

New Status for North Caucasus Military District

LD0905064293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2300 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] The North Caucasus military district is to be transformed into a border-adjacent military district. The transformation of the district will be conducted on a short timescale, and should be completed by 1995. Colonel General Lev Shustko, commander of the district troops, believes that the district's fighting potential will increase significantly with the help of the troops withdrawn from Germany, the Baltic countries, and the Transcaucasus, as well as through setting up rapid response forces. In the past few months, five battleworthy brigades have been created here, as well as bomber and fighter-bomber aviation regiments. In the commander's view, all this is in line with the requirements of the new military-technical policy, which envisages a change from divisions to corps and brigades, small in numbers but efficient in terms of equipment and weaponry. This would make it possible to secure reliable protection of Russia's frontiers in the south, he said.

North Ossetia WWII Veterans Receive Victory Day Awards

LD0705135293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Today the Supreme Soviet of North Ossetia arranged a party for participants of World War II. The veterans received cash allowances. Today in Vladikavkaz there was a ceremonial meeting devoted to the Victory Day. On the eve of the festive occasion the Council of Ministers made a decision to give all World War II participants the right to free travel within the republic.

International Affairs

Special U.S. Envoy Arrives for Talks on Nuclear Disarmament

LD0905213893 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] A special envoy of the American secretary of state, Strobe Talbott, has arrived in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev, for talks about nuclear disarmament of this former Soviet republic. In an interview to local correspondents he expressed concern that Ukraine has not yet ratified the START I Treaty but demands as a precondition safety guarantees from the nuclear powers and wishes to get some $3 billion as compensation for its disarmament.

Kravchuk, Crimean Official Discuss Black Sea Fleet

PM0705143393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Sergey Tsikora: "Black Sea Fleet Again Requires Two Presidents' Attention"]

[Text] Kiev—Acute issues of life in Crimea today were discussed at a meeting in Kiev between L. Kravchuk, president of Ukraine, and N. Bagrov, chairman of the autonomous Republic of Crimea Supreme Soviet.

The situation concerning the problem of the division of the Black Sea Fleet was not overlooked. The Ukrainian president admitted that the implementation of the Yalta agreements had been clearly delayed. The commander of the Black Sea Fleet has run into problems whose solution requires the participation of the Ukrainian and Russian presidents.

L. Kravchuk observed that there are many would-be commanders of the fleet at the moment—both in Russian military departments and in the Ukrainian Defense Ministry. The official delegations that have been instructed to prepare decisions on the Black Sea Fleet also find themselves in a very difficult position. If they are to divide it, what exactly do they divide—personnel in service afloat or shore structures?

If you divide up the shore, L. Kravchuk said, you are effectively dividing up the territory of Ukraine. In fact, Crimea's status has been defined: It is an autonomous republic in Ukraine.

"I, as president of Ukraine, and N. Bagrov, as chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Crimea, have no right to do this," L. Kravchuk said. "These are matters of supreme state importance, and they cannot be decided by individuals. So if one of the delegations participating in the talks submits the matter for discussion today, it means it is setting a task that we already know cannot be resolved.

"Therefore we have to meet with Russian President B. Yeltsin again," L. Kravchuk continued. "It was Black Sea Fleet commander Baltin's idea that the meeting should take place in Sevastopol, so I asked him, as the initiator of it, to negotiate with Boris Nikolayevich, and if he accepts the offer, we can meet in Sevastopol at a mutually convenient time. In my view, the fleet commander has prepared some interesting proposals on ways out of the impasse the negotiations have gotten into.

"I favor the speediest solution of the Black Sea Fleet problem," the Ukrainian president said. And he added: Taking both Ukrainian and Russian interests into account.

But there have been changes in the military-political situation in Crimea of late, with strategic consequences. They are changes in the fleet-shore connection. Even a civilian would see that no fleet can exist without the proper base structure on the shore. Mindful of this reality, your correspondent asked the Ukrainian president whether the new commanders of the shore garrisons, appointed by the Ukrainian Defense Ministry, had started carrying out their duties.

"They have, although there have been some problems," L. Kravchuk replied. "I want these changes to be understood by people in Sevastopol and Crimea, as well as by the participants of the other side of the negotiations on the Black Sea Fleet. Does Ukraine have the right to locate such garrisons on its own soil and rearrange the cadres in them? I say yes!" the Ukrainian president said. "It does have that right."

The implementation of this provision radically changes the situation regarding the division of the Black Sea Fleet, which has effectively been deprived of its former shores.

Kuchma, Russia's Adamishin Discuss Economic Relations

LD0805162093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Ukraine's Prime Minister Leonid Kuchma today met Anatoliy Adamishin, Russia's first deputy foreign minister. Economic aspects of Ukrainian-Russian mutual relations were discussed during the conversation. Leonid Smolyakov, Russian ambassador to Ukraine, took part in the meeting.

France To Aid With Nuclear Safety, Investment

LD0805165293 Kiev UKRINFORM in Ukrainian 1113 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] [No datelined as received]—France has allocated approximately 20 million francs for the development of the Ukrainian economy, in particular for the implementation of a scheme to ensure nuclear safety in Ukraine. In addition, another 80 million francs have been set aside for assistance to Ukraine as a contribution toward the relevant EC fund. This was stated by (Claude Villain), the representative from the Interdepartmental Mission for Cooperation with central and eastern Europe, at a news conference on the results of his visit to Kiev, which was organized at the French Embassy.

In reply to a question as to whether France's Government is not linking—as the U.S. Government is doing—the granting of credits to Ukraine with the implementation of certain political demends, French Ambassador to Ukraine Michel Peissik said that the development of Ukrainian-French cooperation does not depend on Ukraine ratifying international agreements on nuclear disarmament, although France undoubtedly has an interest in Ukraine's non-nuclear status. In the opinion of the ambassador, the United States could in time change its tough position on this issue.

Evaluating the potential possibilities of Ukraine, (Claude Villain) noted that in terms of rendering financial assistance, it is one of the most promising of the 27 countries of central and eastern Europe which the mission is engaged in crediting.

Expressing the opinion of French businessmen, which coincides with the often expressed point of view of representatives of world business circles, (Villain) stressed the need to create a firm legislative base for investment in the Ukrainian economy. In contributing considerable funds toward assisting Ukraine in training management personnel, France hopes that this country might become its reliable economic partner in the near future.

Delegation Visits Poland, Views Plans To Stimulate Economic Ties

LD0705164793 Kiev UKRINFORM in Russian 1207 GMT 7 May 93

[By UKRINFORM special correspondent Valentin Vernodubenko from Warsaw]

[Excerpts] [no dateline as received]—The governmental delegation headed by Vasiliy Yevtukhov, acting deputy prime minister of Ukraine, arrived in Warsaw on 6 May. The delegation began its official visit to the Republic of Poland by visiting the Tarchomin pharmaceutical plant ("Polfa"). [passage omitted]

On the same day negotiations began with Henryk Goryszewski, Poland's deputy prime minister, whose invitation prompted the Ukrainian governmental delegation's official visit, Ukraine's Ambassador to the Republic of Poland Gennadiy Udovenko, told a special correspondent of UKRINFORM. At the close of the day Gennadiy Udovenko had a meeting with Hanna Suchocka, Poland's prime minister. During the conversation they discussed the current state of Ukrainian-Polish economic relations and mapped out plans of their stimulation. Both Ukrainian and Polish sides put forth a number of specific issues connected with the strategy of economic relations between the two countries, whose foundation was laid during the meeting between Leonid Kuchma and Hanna Suchocka. Then the forms of mutual relations were discussed and an agreement was reached on appointing experts. They worked out specific proposals concerning the rules of settling accounts between Ukraine and Poland.

The interlocutors underlined the importance of the forthcoming visit by President of the Republic of Poland Lech Walesa to Ukraine in May.

In conclusion, the ambassador pointed out that Ukraine and Poland are strategic partners inasmuch as political and economic cooperation between our countries is a stabilizing factor on the European continent.

On 7 May negotiations between the Ukrainian and Polish delegations continued. The program of the visit by the guests from Ukraine includes a meeting with entrepreneurs, plenary sessions of both sides at the Council of Ministers, the signing of a joint communique, and a news conference.

National Affairs

Plyushch Sees No Short-Term Alternative to Nuclear Energy

AU0705151593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 6 May 93 p 2

[Kateryna Voronenko report: "There Is an Alternative to Nuclear Energy: Warming Ourselves at Small Primitive Stove for the Next Ten Years"]

[Text] While viewing an exhibition of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences projects related to Chernobyl problems, the chairman of Ukraine's Supreme Council, Ivan Plyushch said that it might take us at least seven to 10 years to proceed to alternative sources of electrical energy, were we to choose this road. Under such conditions, yet another winter similar to the one in 1987, when the temperature dropped to minus 42 degrees, would suffice to paralyze our state.

"I am not an advocate of nuclear energy, but, so far, we have no other choice," remarked Plyushch. In general, one cannot say that he was simply viewing the exhibits, including maps of the radiation situation and advanced developments by institutes of medicine, labor, and nuclear research, as well as by Kiev State University.... Some problems and ways out of the situation in which scientists have found themselves as a result of our economy's transition to market relations were resolved on the spot.

Government Establishes Committee on State Secrets

LD0805090593 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] According to a resolution of the Ukraine Cabinet of Ministers, a committee for issues of state secrets has been set up. Pavlo Mysnyk has been appointed its chairman. Within one month, he is to prepare and submit to the government regulations on the new department, approved according to established standards.

New Party Leader Formulates Principles, Goals

AU1005112793 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 6 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Anatoliy Matviyenko, a leader of the newly created Ukrainian Labor Congress, by Mykola Stanovych: "In the Interests of Labor and Capital"]

[Text] The absence of a center and the availability of right- and left-wing flanks have become a characteristic feature of the present alignment of political forces in Ukraine. For a certain period of time, this vacuum was filled with the "New Ukraine" Association. However, the "New Ukrainians" quickly exhausted their resources either due to the amorphous nature of the association's structure (it was more difficult for the association to work out a single approach to resolving problems) or as a result of the fact that its plans published immediately after its creation were too grandiose. The understanding of the facts that the absence of a political center and the concentration of forces at the poles can in no way guarantee stability in society and that this situation may lead to an undesired social explosion has recently led to the emergence of so-called "right-centrist" or "left-centrist" parties and associations that did not, however, resolve the problem. The Ukrainian Labor Congress, whose constituent assembly was recently held in Kiev, volunteered to fill in the gap at the center of the Ukrainian political spectrum.

Anatoliy Matviyenko, Ukraine's people's deputy and one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Labor Congress, shared the plans of the new sociopolitical organization with a URYADOVYY KURYER correspondent.

[Matviyenko] It seems to me that political confrontation is one of the factors that is undermining Ukraine. That is why we have no desire to reveal our sympathies or dislikes. We are ready to cooperate with all political forces, blocs, or movements. This does not mean that the party is "omnivorous." Simply, everybody who supports our party's position regarding a certain problem will be able to cooperate with us in resolving it.

We believe that our goal may only be achieved through building a market economy and a civic society. Hence our orientation toward an owner, but mainly toward a socially responsible owner. Today, a biased understanding of the concept "owner" prevails in our country: The farther away from the masses, the greater the owner. This makes the lumpenized society want to "expropriate and divide." That is why our party will protect the interests of socially responsible owners who cannot enrich themselves at such a rate of our society's impoverishment. Besides, we regard the owner in a broad meaning of the word and not just as an entrepreneur or businessman, but also as a holder of shares, dividends, land, intellectual property, or highly skilled labor.

We strive sincerely to become a centrist party, but this is not because it is our desire. We are simply implementing an urgent need of our time. Today, we have two distinct wings in the political horizon—classical left-wing and classical right-wing forces. There is no constructive center. Thus, what we are dealing with is nothing other than setting the pendulum of confrontation in motion. This may lead to a social explosion with unpredictable results. That is why our party's task is to avoid chaos, to recruit possible mass support both from the right and from the left, and to direct it to the evolutional road of development.

However paradoxical this may sound, not a single party today has an economic program. There are general concepts and there is a slogan "Toward the Market," but there are no ways of implementing it in time and space. Our party has elaborated such a program of anti- crisis measures and market transformations, and this program may constitute a foundation for our economic policy.

By contrast to the present policy of our state and to the government's statements to the effect that it will support those who are still unable to take care of themselves or are no longer able to do so, the Ukrainian Labor Congress proceeds from the need to support commodity producers. For us, the main criterion for assessing economic reform is maintaining the volume of production. In order to keep it from falling, it is certainly necessary to establish order in the state sector, something which the government is doing, but, at the same time, to vigorously develop the nonstate sector, something which the government is not doing.

Moldova

'Present Borders' Recognized by Ukraine

AU0605132293 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English GMT 1845 GMT 5 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 5/5/1993—"During the visit made over last few days in Tiraspol and Camenca, during the meeting with leaders of the Society of Ukrainians from Dniester, the problem how to obtain citizenship of Ukraine was the most frequently discussed one. This was due to the reason that before 1940, several regions of Moldova became part of Ukraine," declared Vitaliy Boyko, the ambassador from Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova. While being questioned by a BASA reporter, Boyko clarified that during the meetings with leaders of the Regional Executive Committee from Camenca and town authorities from Tiraspol, they discussed the problems of Ukrainians who live on this territory, the possibility of offering economic assistance from the Ukrainian state and the situation in Dniester. To the question, what is the attitude of Ukraine towards solving the conflict in the Dniester region, Boyko answered: "Ukraine recognises Moldova as a united state, within present borders and is conducting herself by the principle of non-interference into internal affairs." In connection to the position of Ukraine with regard to the withdrawal of the 14th Army, Boyko said that "first, terms of withdrawal must be established between the Republic of Moldova and the Russian Federation; then there will be no problem with the transition of the 14th Army over the territory of Ukraine. Our principle is that every Army must stay in her own home," concluded the ambassador of Ukraine in the Republic of Moldova.

Defense Official Views NATO Cooperation Meeting

AU0705162693 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1925 GMT 6 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 6/5/1993—The most serious obstacle in the way of the formation and consolidation of relations of Moldova with Western armies constitutes the anachronistic thought of many officers who were schooled in the Soviet Army and also the Balkan proverbial provincialism expressed in their activity and behavior, declared Colonel Nicolae Petrica, the first deputy prime minister for defense, chief-of-staff of Moldova, in an interview offered to the newspaper OASTEA MOLDOVEI [MOLDOVA'S ARMY].

In connection with the recent meeting of the Military Committee in Brussels under the aegis of the NATO Cooperation Council which he attended, Petrica said that it was dedicated to problems regarding the activity of international peace-keeping forces in different zones of protection in Europe. The chief-of-staff from Chisinau had a meeting in Brussels with his counterparts from Romania, Denmark, Italy, Turkey, Greece, Ukraine, Albania, and Spain, during which they discussed ways of cooperation with military bodies from those countries and elaborated concrete measures with regard to supporting several common activities at international level. In his speech delivered at that meeting, Colonel Petrica referred to the prerequisites, progress, and consequences of the military conflict in the eastern rayons of Moldova and the activity of peace-keeping forces within the zone of responsibility of Moldovan battalions. Petrica also clarified in his speech in Brussels that the resolution concerning aspects related to the withdrawal of the 14th Army would urge the establishment of peace in the zone, states OASTEA MOLDOVEI.

German Military Delegation Visits

AU1005112493 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1845 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Chisinau BASAPRESS, 7/5/1993—This week in Chisinau Lieutenant-Colonel Joachim Harbrecht and Major Emil Schreiber, the officers of examination and consultancy from Bundeswehr participated in a working visit. The aim of this return visit is towards enlarging the domains of collaboration in the sphere of respective international treaties concerning disarmament and information concerning activity of groups controlling conventional arms in Europe. The guests had the mission of inspecting and performing some instructive lectures. By the end of the visit, the establishment of permanent relations between Moldova and Germany in military areas was agreed. This summer another visit by the Bundeswehr's Officers to Chisinau is planned.

Dniester Signs Economic Agreement With Karelia

LD0905083493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0700 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] In Tiraspol an agreement has been signed on trade and economic cooperation between the Dniester Republic and Karelia. This is the first agreement that the Dniester Republic has signed with an autonomous republic of Russia.

Snegur To Withdraw From Ruble Zone, Issue Leu

AU0805161893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1804 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Chisinau ROMPRES 7/5/1993—The Republic of Moldova is planning to withdraw from the ruble zone and mint its own currency, the Moldovan leu. The decision was made public Friday, 7 May by the president of the Republic, Mircea Snegur, and its prime minister Andrei Sangheli. The latter informed that the financial assistance promised by the International Monetary Fund was expected to arrive by August this year.

Kazakhstan

Defense Minister Addresses Armed Forces on Victory Day

LD0905024493 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] In Almaty today, on Republic Square, there was a military parade of the troops of the Almaty garrison dedicated to the 48th anniversary of victory in the Great Fatherland War and the first anniversary of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan. [passage indistinct] On the central podium on the square were President Nursultan Nazarbayev, Supreme Kenges Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin, Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, and Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko. Those gathered were addressed by Army General Sagadat Nurmagambetov, the Kazakhstani defense minister. He said this:

[Begin Nurmagambetov recording] (?Respected) soldiers of the Army and the fleet, veterans of war, labor, and the Armed Forces, and workers of the Republic of Kazakhstan, esteemed foreign guests! Today the young, sovereign, and independent state, the Republic of Kazakhstan, celebrates an event that entered the history of our republic as a radiant page, the birthday of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

On 7 May 1992, the decree of President Nazarbayev on the creation of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan laid the foundation for the independent defense construction of the republic and became the beginning of [word indistinct] its Armed Forces. The creation of its own Army and fleet is dictated by the need to strengthen its national security and to defend its state independence, the territorial integrity of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and the peaceful labor of its people.

The first anniversary of the Armed Forces of the republic is being celebrated on the eve of the bright, cheerful holiday, the day of victory in the Great Fatherland War, which was won by [words indistinct]. By selfless labor and feats of arms, the victory forever entered history as a graphic symbol of unbending patriotic spirit, friendship of peoples, loyalty to martial duty, and faithfulness to the motherland. It goes without saying that the victory achieved in the last war is of importance to all the peoples of the former USSR including the working people of Kazakhstan. From the first days of the war, our republic became one of the important arsenals for the Red Army. On the fronts of the Great Fatherland War the sons and daughters of our multi-ethnic republic fought near Leningrad, Moscow, Stalingrad, everywhere where the historic turning points lay during the war.

Great efforts of all the peoples in the fight for preserving peace reduced political and military tension, made it possible to put off the imminent danger of unleashing a new world war, and achieved the elimination and reduction of the strategic offensive weapons and the ban of other types of weapons of mass destruction. From the first days of its creation, at all levels, the Republic of Kazakhstan has spoken in favor of strengthening peace and security, the peaceful settlement of any disputes, taking concrete steps leading to the reduction of tensions, and strengthening the systems of the national and collective security. Few people deny today that the military threat has been reduced on the whole, however, the probability of unleashing so-called local and even regional conflicts exists. Therefore, taking steps aimed at preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our state is of primary importance.

Soldiers of the Armed Forces serve, live, and work in accordance with the new Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and in their intense military work strengthen their combat and [word indistinct] readiness. In independently carrying out its defense development, the Republic of Kazakhstan is guided by its own interests and those of the collective security of the Commonwealth countries. The Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in united ranks with the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation and the other states of the CIS, are acting as a reliable factor in ensuring the peaceful labor of their people and preserving peace and stability in the region.

On the instructions of the supreme commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces, the president of the republic, I congratulate the troops and war and labor veterans on the first anniversary of the Armed Forces and Victory Day in the Great Fatherland War. I wish the armed defenders to be true to their military oath, to selflessly serve their people, to courageously and skillfully defend their homeland, and to cherish the honor of their military calling and military comradeship. Honor and glory to the working people of the Republic of Kazakhstan and their Armed Forces. May our sovereign, independent homeland, the Republic of Kazakhstan, gain in strength and prosperity. Hurrah, comrades! [end recording]

Nazarbayev Receives New Generals

LD0805204893 Almaty Kazakh Radio Network in Russian 2300 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] On 7 May President Nursultan Nazarbayev received the servicemen who have been awarded the rank of general by his decree and handed them their shoulder tapes. He congratulated those present at the ceremony on V-day and the first anniversary of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan. I am especially delighted, said the head of state, to congratulate Defense Minister Sagadat Nurmugambetov, conferring on him the military rank of army general. He has served 52 years in the Army, survived a severe war, and finished it with the rank of major, a Hero of the Soviet Union.

The president also spoke warmly about Yuriy Konovalenko, head of the Semipalatinsk test site, and Fedor Scherbakov, commander of the Combined Arms Corps, who became a lieutenant general. Kind remarks were also made about Major Generals Alibek Kasymov, chief of the general staff of the Defense Ministry, and Aytkaly Isingulov, deputy defense minister and chief of the

directorate for educational and socio-legal work, and Sabir Temirbekov, deputy defence minister for the rear.

The president expressed confidence that the servicemen who received high ranks will persistently improve the military readiness of the troops and strengthen cooperation in the military sphere with the countries of the Commonwealth, above all with Russia.

After the award of shoulder tapes to the generals, the defense minister thanked the president for the high trust placed in them. The ceremony was attended by Vice President Yerik Asanbayev, Prime Minister Sergey Tereshchenko, Nurtay Abykayev, head of the apparatus of the president and the Cabinet Of Ministers, and State Councillor Kairbek Suleymenov.

Nazarbayev Receives Deutsche Bank Vice President

LD0705181693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1756 GMT 7 May 93

[By KAZTAG correspondent Gennay Lunev for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Almaty May 7 TASS—The Government of Kazakstan welcomes an extensive cooperative agreement with "Deutsche Bank", according to President Nursultan Nazarbayev. He was speaking at a meeting with the vice-president of the powerful German bank, Mr. Georg Krupp, who arrived in Almaty to celebrate the opening of the bank's office here.

Amidst the many aspects of this arrangement and the future operations, the president prioritized investment projects which were planned for small and medium-sized businesses, the utilisation of industral waste, the development of new deposits of precious metals and the building of a new intercontinental railway.

Mr. Georg Krupp stated that German bank's choice of Kazakhstan as its center for operations was due to the fact that the republic was immensely rich in natural resources and politically the most stable nation in the central Asian region with a very high investment potential. This provides a good environment for Western businessmen wishing to develop economic ties with the region. "Deutsche Bank" is one of those who are ready for close cooperation with the republic.

The evening then ended with a presentation of the Deutsche Bank's new office.

Nazarbayev Receives Indian Envoy

LD0705171593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1622 GMT 7 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Almaty May 7 TASS—Indian Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's official visit to Kazakhstan scheduled for the end of May will serve to boost mutually beneficial relations between the two countries, according to President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Indian ambassador to Kazakhstan Kamlesh Sharma.

Nursultan Nazarbayev and Kamlesh Sharma met in Almaty today to discuss preparations for the visit and exchange views on relations between the two countries. Nazarbayev stressed the timeliness of efforts aimed at the realization of bilateral intergovernmental agreements. He spoke about his vision of priorities in the development of this partnership and stressed that the mixed commission for trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation should intensify work to help this development.

Kyrgyzstan

Provisions of New Constitution Outlined

PM0705143993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 May 93 First Edition p 2

[Vladimir Trofimov report: "Kyrgyzstan's Parliament Has Adopted New Constitution"]

[Text] One more festival has appeared in the Kyrgyz calendar: 5 May is Constitution Day.

The republic's Supreme Soviet has adopted the state's Fundamental Law. The new constitution clearly enshrines the powers of the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. In accordance with the constitution, Askar Akayev has laid down his powers as chairman of the government and henceforth is head of state. The prime minister's powers have been substantially widened. Tursunbek Chyngyshev has been appointed head of government. The supreme judiciary in the form of the Constitutional Court has not yet been elected, but this is a matter of time.

The main provisions of the Kyrgyzstan Constitution have been adopted in accordance with international standards: the ensuring of human rights, equality of forms of ownership, land ownership rights. On the last day of the discussion of the constitution the deputies came back once again to the article on languages. All languages, including Russian, are guaranteed free development and use. Discrimination on grounds of nonfluency in the state language is not permitted.

Parliament Ends Session, Creates Constitutional Court

LD0805164793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1120 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Bishkek May 8 TASS—The session of the Kyrgyz Parliament ended today with the creation of the Constitutional Court. Cholpon Baekova was elected head of the court. Previously she held the post of the republic's prosecutor.

The session of the Kyrgyz Parliament adopted a new constitution and passed a resolution on introducing national currency.

President Addresses Nation on Victory Day

LD0905195993 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Russian 2300 GMT 8 May 93

[Address to the nation by President Askar Akayev on celebration of Victory Day; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Dear veterans, esteemed compatriots! I congratulate you in the most heartfelt way on the occasion of this significant event—the 48th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War. The way to victory was long and painful, and we paid a costly price for it. The war has taken away tens of millions of lives. Thousands of Kyrgyzstanis did not come back from the battlefield. Each of those flaming days makes a page in the heroic manuscript of the deeds of the Soviet people at the front and in the rear, their viability and faithfulness to the Fatherland.

Time washes us further away from those events, new generations have grown up, for whom that war is a far removed remote history. But gratitude and the sense of being indebted to those who died and those who have survived through the war does not allow anyone to forget about the great victory in the struggle against fascism. I address the Kyrgyzstani: Let us bow our heads to the memory of the heroes of the Great Patriotic War who died for the freedom and independence of our motherland. Let us render homage to the veterans, the participants of the war, those who remained faithful to the sworn allegiance and did not discredit their civic honor.

Let us recall again the selfless labor of women, the elderly, and the children, at enterprises, in the fields and farms, who made an inestimable contribution toward the victory. We shall not forget those who namelessly lay in the communal grave, who are missing but who have gained glory in the flames of that cruel war. We beg our compatriots to bow to the courage and heroism of the participants of unprecedented combats, to put wreaths on their graves, to show concern and attention to the widows of the dead, to our esteemed veterans. We must not forget the lessons of war, no matter how the internal and external conditions of our lives may be changed. First, we are obliged to remember that the main source of the victory was the integrity and solidarity of society against the deadly danger. People of different nationalities and different walks of life, different confessions, were united and gave everything they could to defend their homes and their right to life and freedom. This is the greatest moral lesson for us today.

Certainly, times are different now and, no doubt, we are facing hardships and problems. In order to overcome them, we, like at that time, need consolidation of strength, efforts, a united will, and high responsibility for the plight of our Fatherland and the historical choice we have made.

Let this day remind us once again that only together and only in consensus, side by side, will we be able to cope with all the hardships and deprivations which are our Republic's plight at these trying times, and to create conditions to find a way out of this crisis.

Dear veterans, soldiers, receive our most sincere and warmest congratulations on Victory day, and our deepest gratitude and our low bow to your unprecedented heroism. I wish you strong health, good spirits, and long life.

New Currency To Replace Ruble Starting 10 May

LD0905082793 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 9 May 93

[Text] In Kyrgyzstan all the banks have ceased clearing transactions with rubles. From 0400 on 10 May, the national currency—the som—is being put into circulation. Russian money, treasury notes, and paper money of the USSR State Bank and ruble accounts will be exchanged until 1800 on 14 May at a rate of 200 rubles per som.

Tajikistan

Ministry Official Says Afghan Forces Planning Invasion

LD0805130793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1257 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe May 8 TASS—Tajik authorities possess reliable information on a planned large-scale invasion into the country of Afghan-based anti-governmental Tajik militants supported by mercenaries from among Afghan mojahedin, according to spokesman of the Tajik Foreign Ministry Zafar Saydov.

He told a press conference on Saturday [8 May] that the attack is being prepared by leaders of the Islamic Party of Revival Dovlat Usmon, Mullo Abdugaffor [names and titles as received] and several Afghan field commanders and will take place at the Kumsangir part of the Tajik-Afghan border.

Leaders of the opposition have recently held a meeting in Kunduz at which they shared their duties during the invasion and sectors of the border where it is to take place. Saydov also said that it became known that weapons and ammunition are being concentrated on the Afghan side of the border, field hospitals are established and other activities are going on which testify that the opposition is preparing for a large-scale offensive into Tajikistan.

Saydov also said that situation remains tense at the Shuro-Abad section of the Tajik-Afghan border where government forces and Russian border guards surrounded a group of

armed militants who penetrated into Tajikistan at the end of April. 70 militants were killed and 150 returned to Afghanistan. The remaining militants are blocked in the village of Redzhov and have no chances to strengthen their positions, Saydov said, denying runours that the militants completely control the Shuro-Abad district and have seized several border strongholds.

Tajik governmental forces possess everything necessary to repell an outside aggression, Saydov stressed. However, he added that the government of the Central Asian republic appeals to the Commonwealth, the United Nations and other states of the world with an insistent demand to join efforts and help normalise the situation in Tajikistan in order to avert further bloodshed and to influence official authorities of Afghanistan.

Foreign Minister Comments on Border Situation, CIS

LD0805085193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0723 GMT 8 May 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow May 7 TASS—The socio-political situation in the republic is showing a stable trend towards further stabilisation, Tajik Foreign Minister Rashid Alimov told ITAR-TASS by telephone today. At the same time he stressed that the situation is still difficult in a way, mostly as a result of the two main problems—the continuing disarmament process and the return of refugees from the northern areas of Afghanistan.

Quoting the information supplied by the office of the U.N. High Commission for Refugees, Alimov said that some 15,000 people had already returned to the republic. "Jointly with U.N. representatives and the Uzbek Foreig Ministry, the republic's authorities are doing all they can for speeding up the return of refugees," he stressed.

Alimov expressed concern over the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, which, in his opinion, continues to be complicated, but not dangerous.

He described the economic situation in the republic as "the complicated inheritance the young government received after last year's devastating civil war." According to Alimov, the damage inflicted by it is estimated at about 300 million dollars.

Touching upon the prospects of Tajikistan's membership in the CIS, Alimov said that the stand of the republic's leadership remained unchanged: Tajikistan will continue to take an active part in the work of the new Commonwealth.

Armenia

Iranian Embassy Issues Statement Denying Arms Conduit

NC0705211193 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1858 GMT 7 May 93

[Statement issued to the press by the Iranian Embassy in Yerevan on 7 May; read by announcer]

[Text] The embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran states the following: The (?authorities) of the Islamic Republic of Iran have declared on many occasions that this country, having opposed all those moves that cause the intensification of war, lead to bloodshed, and obstruct peace, is exerting, and will continue to exert, enormous efforts for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

This fact firmly refutes all sorts of rumors of the dispatch of arms to the warring sides through Iranian territory and considers them as part of a satanic and crafty policy which is being formulated to create dissension between the Islamic Republic of Iran and its neighbors.

The policy of friendship with nations and countries lies at the foundation of the Iranian foreign policy.

Iran has (?always) stated that confrontation and disagreements between the sides should be solved through talks, and not in an atmosphere of war. Therefore, the Islamic Republic of Iran does not approve of any assistance which deepens the crisis and bloodshed, and allows the application of a policy of infringement and violation of human rights.

The Armenian people know well what sort of infringements have brought about the expansion of the war. Those forces, which are the real friends or enemies of peace and fraternity, have been well registered in the Armenian people's historic memory.

[Signed] Press Department of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Yerevan, 7 May 1993

Karabakh Spokesman Seeks 'Sharp' Security Guarantees

NC0705184493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1440 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] Stepanakert, May 7 (SNARK)—"Karabakh leadership has spoken and is speaking out for solely peaceful ways to the conflict settlement. And, literally, in the same context it considers the trilateral initiative for the Karabakh conflict settlement", Karabakh Supreme Soviet Press Secretary Gegam Bagdasaryan announced to SNARK's reporter. However, according to his words, the initiative does not consider the question on Karabakh territories occupied by Azerbaijan. And because of the above we have no guarantees that when the planned measures would be completed the Azerbaijani side wouldn't increase military actions against Karabakh, said Bagdasaryan. "There is the Karabakh people's destiny and we want to have sharp guarantees for security for our state and people", Bagdasaryan concluded.

Azerbaijan

Armenian President 'Agreed to' Peace Initiative

NC0805151693 Baku TURAN in English 1302 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 8 (TURAN)—The President of Armenia Levon Ter- Petrosyan agreed to the realization of trilateral peaceful initiative regulating Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict. TURAN agency was informed about it from informed source of Azerbaijan Government.

The same source informed, that at present Yerevan conducts talks with Nagorno-Karabakh representatives, with the aim of inclining the latter to accept trilateral plan.

The envoy of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh [passage indistinct] information, there is no common opinion about trilateral initiative of Russia, USA and Turkey regulating the conflict among the Armenians of Nagorno-Karabakh. The powers, representing Armenian national movement in Karabakh, stand for it but supporters of 'Dashnaksutyan' party stand against accepting of the trilateral peaceful initiative.

Armenian Reaction Criticized

NC0805135093 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 7 May 93

[Text] We reported earlier that Azerbaijan accepted the proposals jointly made by the United States, Turkey, and Russia for the resumption of the peace process, which was suspended after the Armenian Armed Forces occupied Kelbadzhar. Arif Aliyev, head of the Presidential Press Service, today held a briefing on Azerbaijan's and Armenia's reaction to the proposals. He briefed journalists on the full text of the proposals and explained the way they were drawn up.

According to the proposals, the Armenian side must move to withdraw its forces from Kelbadzhar on 9 May, an agreement must be reached by the sides for the suspension of combat operations for 60 days, beginning on 12 May, and the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzhar must be completed by 14 May. Meanwhile, talks [words indistinct] must be maintained on 22 May and a new round of negotiations must be held within the CSCE framework in Rome on 24 and 25 May.

Aliyev said that Azerbaijan has accepted the proposals. By doing so, it has displayed its willingness to find a peaceful solution to the dispute. The relevant document, which was signed by the Republic's prime minister and defense minister, has been submitted to the representatives of the United States, Turkey, and Russia.

The journalists were also briefed on the official reaction of Armenia and the Armenians in Karabakh. Without making a reference to Turkey, the two sides highly assessed the U.S. and Russian initiative and proposed that the deadline of the withdrawal of troops from Kelbadzhar be extended. A suggestion was made that the troops be withdrawn after the CSCE observers are deployed in the disputed region and that an agreement be drawn up on the matter that will clearly outline the demands of the two sides.

Aliyev said that he believed that the reaction indicates that the proposals have not been accepted. The exclusion of Turkey from the list of the countries which made the joint initiative can be regarded as an attempt to create a confrontation among the [word indistinct] countries and undermine the peace talks. Meanwhile, Armenia has made an effort to link the question of Kelbadzhar with the problem of Yukhary Karabakh. However, as far as Azerbaijan is concerned, that is unacceptable.

Outlining the position held by the Republic's leaders, Aliyev said that Azerbaijan will not participate in the talks before Armenia withdraws its forces from Kelbadzhar. The sides, which have made the joint initiative, have not yet informed Azerbaijan of the official reaction of Armenia and the Armenians in Karabakh. Diplomatic work is being maintained on the matter. Contacts are being held with the representatives of the United States, Turkey, and Russia. Azerbaijan has invited the three representatives to visit Baku.

According to Aliyev, Azerbaijan has gained an advantage by accepting the proposals, particularly when the other side has tried to refrain from doing so. The proposals are in harmony with the latest UN Security Council resolution and the talks that are held within the CSCE framework. All this has created an opportunity for Azerbaijan to submit petitions calling for sanctions against the aggressor.

Official Views Yerevan Policy, U.S. Karabakh Initiative

MK0805105493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 3

[Mamed Safarli report under "Nagorno-Karabakh" rubric: "Conflict Diplomacy. Do Not Debate, Just Withdraw Troops"]

[Text] By their refusal to adopt the proposal set out in the Russian-U.S.-Turkish plan on an unconditional withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzhar, official Yerevan and the Nagorno-Karabakh authorities have appreciably complicated the process of settling the Karabakh problem politically, officials in Baku believe. "The Armenian side should not debate whether or not to withdraw its troops from Kelbadzhar but should unconditionally obey UN Security Council Resolution No. 822," Araz Azimov, chief of the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry International Organizations Administration, told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent in an interview. According to him, only after the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Azerbaijan's occupied territories can the resumption of talks be discussed. Answering your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent's question as to how right it is to demand a cease-fire from Armenia in a situation whereby the UN Security Council has not recognized the fact of Armenia's involvement in the Karabakh conflict, the Azerbaijani diplomat said: "Armenia is not merely involved in the conflict—it is its troops who are occupying Azerbaijani territory step by step." The fact of Armenia's participation in the Karabakh conflict was recognized at a recent Prague session of the CSCE Committee of Senior Officials. Azimov, who participated in this committee's work, reported that the Armenian delegation, by blocking the adoption of the committee's resolution on the withdrawal of Armenian troops from Kelbadzhar, found itself in complete isolation.

Defense Ministry Reports Armenian 'Offensive'

LD0705185593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1824 GMT 7 May 93

[By AZERTAJ correspondent Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva for TASS]

[Text] Baku May 7 TASS—Armenian infantry units with support of APCs launched an attack at the Gyulyustan settlement of the Azeri Geranboisky region this afternoon.

According to the Azeri Defence Ministry, fierce fighting is underway in the area. The offensive at Gyulyustan endangers the safety of 2,000 refugees, accommodated in the settlement after the Armenian occupation of the Azeri Kelbajar and a considerable part of the Lachin regions.

Baku military experts believe the Armenian offensives testify to the Armenian unwillingness to implement the decisions of the international community on a peaceful settlement of the Armenian- Azeri conflict.

Says 'Onslaught' Repulsed

NC0805145693 Baku AZERTAC in English 1327 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] Baku, May 8 (AZERTAC)—The Armenian Armed Forces onslaught on Gulistan village of the Geranboyskiy district, where two thousand refugees from the Kelbadzharskiy district were housed, was repulsed yesterday in the midnight. Today the Defence Ministry of Azerbaijan stressed that both sides suffered heavy casualties in the course of the fight further that the situation was still dangerous on the border between Armenia and Azerbaijan. Villages of the Kazakhskiy district border on Armenia were shelled from military bases of the Noyemberyanskiy district of Armenia yesterday. The Defence Ministry also said that one soldier of the National Army of Azerbaijan was killed and two were wounded in the course of shelling Agdam village of the Tauzskiy district of Azerbaijan. The village was shelled from the Berd district of Armenia.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Rules Out Coup Attempts

LD0705132293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 6 May 93

[Address by State Council Chairman Eduard Shevardnadze to a parliament session in Tbilisi on 6 May—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] I would like to clarify one thing. There are many rumors that because of the tense situation, this measure [removal of Kitovani as defense minister] may result in demonstrations, coup attempts, and other things. I must declare: no coup, no coup will happen in Georgia. People will not support any such attempt. It is out of the question. And if anybody is dreaming of it, I think he will be alone. Only the scum will help him, only the scum.

People have been very patient with us. But they will lose their patience if we go wrong again somewhere. That is one thing. Second, if we want to build the country we are dreaming about, then we must listen to each other and assure each other, and, if necessary, obey each other according to existing laws. As for the rumors and believing them, who said what about who, it is not our business, it belittles our honor. [passage omitted]

New Defense Minister Named To Help Control Army

MK0805092493 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 May 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report under "Georgia" rubric: "Tengiz Kitovani Retires. New Georgian Defense Minister Is 27"]

[Excerpts] Twenty-seven-year-old Brigadier General Georgiy Karkarashvili, commander of the Georgian National Guard, has become the republic defense minister, replacing Acting Defense Minister Tengiz Kitovani. [passage omitted]

Georgian Vice Premier Roman Gotsiridze told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that, in his opinion, it was the only way of easing the situation that became extremely tense after Kitovani's retirement and of ensuring that all problems are solved by political methods, since Karkarashvili is currently the only person who possesses the same authority as Kitovani in military circles, and is consequently the only person who will be able to control the Army and restrain the military from any ill-considered actions.

Shevardnadze on French Relations, Abkhazian Situation

LD0705144293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 7 May 93

[Excerpts] Mr. Bernard Fassier, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of France to Georgia, presented his credentials today to Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the parliament of Georgia and head of state.

The head of state said France was one of the first states to recognize Georgia's independence and that there were many links between Georgia and France. It became a second motherland for the Georgian Government that had to emigrate to France in the 1920's. [passage omitted]

Eduard Shevardnadze familiarized the ambassador with the present situation in Georgia. Shevardnadze said the situation must become stable as soon as possible to enable western capital to flow into Georgia. If the conflict in the Caucasus is not resolved in time, then it will spread beyond our region and will endanger the whole world. Although the situation in Abkhazia is difficult, there are promising prospects for political and national consolidation; for example, yesterday's parliamentary session, where a very important issue was solved without difficulties.

The French ambassador thanked Shevardnadze for the reception. The ambassador said that by sending him to Georgia, the French Government was stressing its serious intentions of cooperation with Georgia. [passage omitted]

The French ambassador expressed his hope that the Georgian festival that will be held in France in the beginning of July will be successful. The work is already under way to this end. Both sides are working on drafts of the agreements between the ministries of foreign affair, as well as agreements on scientific and cultural cooperation.

At the end of the meeting, the sides expressed their readiness for cooperation.

Russian Army Official Presents Withdrawal Schedule

LD0805134993 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1250 GMT 8 May 93

[Text] General Fedor Reut, commander of the Russian group of forces in Transcaucasia, has presented the schedule for the withdrawal of the Russian Armed Forces from Georgia to Eduard Shevardnadze, the Georgian head of state. Shevardnadze noted the great significance of this for the cause of building an independent Georgia.

According to Eduard Shevardnadze's instruction, it is the duty of the specially established conciliation commission to regularly present information on progress in meeting this schedule.

Defense Council Says Gudauta Trying To 'Wreck' Moscow Summit

AU1005090093 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0700 GMT 10 May 93

[Text] Here is a statement from the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.

Recently, the situation in Abkhazia has sharply deteriorated. The Guduata leaders, together with their own

patrons and representatives of Russia's military and political reactionary circles, are systematically bombing the city of Sukhumi with massive rocket and artillery fire. In spite of repeated demands from the Defense Council, the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, and UN representatives that such actions should be halted, the peaceful population is again becoming the victim of vandalistic destruction. On 9 May, at 1045, Sukhumi and its adjoining rayons were again bombed, as a result of which there are dead and wounded.

All this is taking place prior to the meeting between Shevardnadze and Yeltsin in Moscow, on which not only the resolution of corresponding problems between the two countries but also the quick regulation of the conflict in Abkhazia depend.

The Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia deems it necessary to state that the actions of the Gudauta government show that they are not seeking a regulation of the conflict through peaceful negotiations and are trying in every way to wreck the expected summit meeting.

Major General Tamaz Nadareishvili, head of the Defense Council of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia.

We received this statement from the CONTACT agency.

Georgian, Abkhazian Military Officials Hold Meeting

LD0805212393 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1900 GMT 8 May 93

[By correspondent K. Bzhaniya; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A meeting has taken place in Gudauta between Loti Kobalia, commander of the Georgian armed formations, and acting Abkhazian Defense Minister Sultan Sosnaliyev. According to press reports the sides agreed that the present authorities in Georgia are only harming the friendly links between Abkhazians and Georgians. The sides also agree on the need to fight this authority. The dialogue will be continued.

A joint commission including representatives from the Abkhaz Defense Ministry and the Russian military command reported that following an investigation, it has been established that a Russian border detachment in Sukhumi was subjected to artillery shelling from territory fully controlled by Georgian units, notably from the village of (Iyashtupa), outside Sukhumi. Members of the commission said this was an open provocation on the part of the Georgian military command.

Meanwhile, fighting continues on all fronts in Abkhazia.